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March 1971

SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB SOCIALIST UNION

The Arab Socialist Union (ASU) -- sponsored and organized by the government -- is the only political party allowed to operate in the UAR. It was founded in late 1962 as the successor to a number of earlier similar attempts designed to develop an all-inclusive one-party system controlled and directed by the government.

As long as Nasser lived, the ASU had little chance of developing into a powerful organization, but remained a constitutional rubber stamp and a creature of Nasser's will. However, Nasser's sudden death deprived the UAR of a towering personality and left only a lackluster and uninspiring "collective leadership." This void caused the ASU to emerge from impotence to become, at least potentially, the most important power center in the political structure of the United Arab Republic.

Since Nasser's death the Soviet interest in the ASU, has vastly intensified, and the relations between the ASU, the CPSU and other European Communist parties have increased to the point where they could be described as having entered an entirely new phase.

The ASU as an Alternative to an Egyptian Communist Party

In 1964 there were indications that the Soviets had recognized the wealth of possibilities that could result from cooperation with the Arab Socialist Union. In May 1964 Premier Nikita Khrushchev traveled to Egypt to inspect construction of the Aswan dam. Nasser had long hoped to have the Soviet leader present for the ceremonies marking the diversion of the Nile waters. But Khrushchev had at first demurred saying he could not visit a country which held so many Communist party members in its jails and Nasser agreed to release the Communists. During the visit Nasser and Khrushchev agreed that the Egyptian Communists would dissolve their organization and stop their underground activity. In exchange Nasser would lift the restrictions on them, allow them to join the ASU, and assume important posts in the Union. At the same time Pravda published a strong article urging Arab Communists to cooperate with Nasser and his socialist system.

By April 1965, the two principal factions of the Egyptian Communist Party had officially dissolved themselves and instructed their members to join the ASU. The dissolution of the Egyptian Communist Party, engineered by Khrushchev in Soviet interests, was a masterstroke. The party as such was weak and ineffectual and its "official" dissolution was no loss to the Soviets. On the contrary, the Khrushchev-Nasser agreement resulted in the release from jail of all leading Communists and they, as well as other pro-Soviet leftists, became free to infiltrate the ASU and assume important positions in it.

Under the new favorable climate Communists (now called Marxists or leftists since the party was dissolved) and other leftists proceeded to infiltrate the ASU. Within a short period, they had managed to occupy many sensitive positions, not only in various levels of the ASU, but also in the universities and the youth organizations. The press, which is technically owned by the ASU, came almost completely under their control with the exception of al-Ahram which remained outside their influence. Popularizers of Communist thought, such as Khalid Muhyi al-Din and Ahmad Lutfi al-Khuli, became regular contributors to the World Marxist Review -- the Soviet-controlled monthly organ of the international Communist movement.

By late 1965 Nasser apparently became seriously concerned about leftist domination of the press. He removed Khalid Muhyi al-Din from his strategic position as chairman of Akhbar al-Yawm House and removed several other leftists from key positions in other publications.

After this initial setback, leftist influence was strengthened by the appointment in October 1965 of Ali Sabri as Secretary-general of the ASU. Sabri, who is known for his extreme leftist views and for his strong pro-Soviet sympathies, is usually described as "Moscow's man in Cairo." In the middle of 1966 Sabri launched a purge of "rightist" elements in the ASU, apparently in an attempt to establish for himself and his leftist colleagues a political power base in that organization. At the same time, the Communists concentrated on the development of an elite "vanguard organization" within the ASU which was to lead the five to six million ASU membership. Cadres of this elite would be trained in "socialist" countries and at the Cairo Institute of Advanced Socialist Studies which was established in May 1965 for this purpose. By September 1967 Sabri had also managed to establish Communist theory courses in the UAR lycees.

Then in October 1966 Nasser launched a campaign to stem the rising tide of Communist influence in the ASU. During that month some 20 to 50 Marxist intellectuals were arrested and it was rumored that Ali Sabri himself was arrested for a short while, and that several

implicated members of the Soviet embassy in Cairo departed quietly for Moscow.

Ali Sabri remained ASU secretary-general until the government-ASU shuffle which followed the June 1967 war. In January 1968 Nasser appointed Sabri again as ASU secretary-general in addition to his post as vice-president.

Under the 30 March 1968 program initiated by Nasser, the ASU was reorganized, its structure liberalized and all important offices made elective. This was a "reform" which leftists as well as the Soviets had been advocating for years and Soviet media hailed the step as a major progressive achievement.

In line with the new reforms, Sabri as well as all top ASU officials resigned their posts to stand for re-election. Pro-Soviet leftist influence and Sabri's strength in the ASU soon became apparent when in October 1968 Sabri was re-elected by the Central Committee as a member of the Higher Executive Committee, the highest organ of the ASU.

In July 1969 Sabri again went to Moscow on what was described as a private visit, the purpose of which has never been explained. Shortly after his return, apparently due to differences on policy, he fell out of Nasser's favor. And in September 1969, Nasser removed Sabri from the chairmanship of the Organizational Sub-Committee. Nasser also cracked down on many of Sabri's leftist supporters: Mustafa Naji, director of Sabri's private office was removed. Abd al-Majid Farid, a Sabri man, was replaced by Hassan al-Tihami (a Nasser man) as director of the ASU office. Mahmud al-'Alim, a Sabri supporter and a strong Soviet sympathizer was removed from his important post as board chairman of Akhbar al-Yawm Publishing House which issues a daily newspaper, al-Akhbar.

Sabri thereafter remained more or less in political limbo. But in July 1970 Nasser again brought him back into the government and named him advisor for Air Force and Defense matters, a position requiring close liaison between the Egyptians and Soviets which gave Sabri the opportunity to travel to the USSR about every two months. After Nasser's death, Sabri emerged as an important member of the inner 'collective leadership' which rules Egypt today. He is a member of the ASU Higher Executive Committee and is now one of the two vice presidents of the UAR.

Beyond the obvious conclusion that Ali Sabri has been a key factor in the Soviet plan to control the ASU, there is some suspicion that during a trip to the Soviet Union in 1961, Sabri was recruited as political agent by Aleksandr N. Shelepin, then the chief of the Soviet Intelligence Service. Sabri had been

involved with the Egyptian Communist movement since the mid-1940s. His first extensive contact with the Soviets occurred during the Egyptian-Soviet arms negotiations in 1955. By 1957, the Soviet Ambassador was calling on Sabri almost daily. Certainly by 1961 it would have been an easy matter for Shelepin to gain Sabri's full cooperation.

#### International Conferences and Seminars

The ASU has now reached the point in its development where it is regarded as one of the "fraternal parties" and ASU representatives now attend virtually every international Communist conference and seminar. One type of conference which they now regularly attend is the ideological seminar usually held in one of the Soviet Union's Asian Republics. Typical of these is the international seminar on the Relations of the October Revolution with Revolutions of National Liberation which was held in Baku between 19-22 September 1967. Khalid Muhyi al-Din, Yusuf al-Sibai and Lutfi al-Khuli were the UAR representatives.

A similar symposium, which was sponsored by the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, was held in Alma Ata in October 1969 on "Lenin's Theory on National Liberation Movements and the Contemporary Stage of Social Progress of Developing Countries." Representatives from 50 African, Asian and Latin American countries participated. The Egyptian delegation was headed by Diya al-Din Daud.

ASU attendance at international conferences sponsored by pro-Soviet front groups has now become a must. Of special importance in regard to such conferences are Yusuf Sibai, the Secretary-General of AAPSO (Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization), and Khalid Muhyi al-Din, the Secretary-General of the Egyptian National Peace Council which is affiliated with the pro-Soviet front, the World Peace Council (WPC). Muhyi al-Din is also a member of the WPC presidential committee. In April 1970 both were awarded Lenin Peace Prizes.

Another level of ASU contacts has been with pro-Soviet East and West European Communist parties, many of which now provide training for ASU cadres. The ASU has exchanged delegations with the Italian and French Communist parties for some years. In April 1968 these parties and the Spanish and Yugoslav Communist parties all met with the ASU in the first conference of Mediterranean "progressive" parties.

In recent months the tempo of these contacts has accelerated greatly. For instance in December 1970 alone some eight delegations of various Communist parties visited the ASU and held official talks

with it in Cairo. These included a French CP delegation, a GDR Parliamentary delegation, a Bulgarian CP delegation, and a WPC delegation. During the same month a number of ASU delegations paid official visits to many Communist parties in Eastern Europe, including those of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Needless to say, the ASU will send a delegation (non-voting) to the 24th CPSU Congress in Moscow.

#### The Sovietization of the ASU

Egypt has now become the cornerstone of Soviet policy and strength in the Middle East and Egypt has become extremely dependent on Soviet aid. The unexpected death of Nasser demonstrated to the Soviets the vulnerability of their position in Egypt and with this in mind, they hope to persuade Egypt to become (a) irrevocably committed to a socialist course, and (b) to develop a strong political organization (such as the ASU) not dependent on the rule of a single man who might die, who might change his mind, or who might be overthrown by a palace coup or a military junta.

Even before Nasser's death, the Soviets began to emphasize the ASU as never before and coverage of the ASU by Soviet mass media increased almost a hundred-fold. During the past year relations between the ASU and the CPSU have become extremely close and interaction between the two parties now reaches into the lower levels as well with the CPSU acting as the older "brother" helping and guiding the inexperienced ASU. ASU-CPSU delegations of various types and on various levels criss-crossing between Cairo and Moscow in 1970 alone numbered close to 50.

Another shift of emphasis has recently taken place. Soviet media and Soviet official statements now regularly emphasize the need to go beyond state-to-state relations into the development of close ties and cooperation between the ASU and the CPSU.

Joint communiques issued at the end of visits exchanged between CPSU and ASU dignitaries are beginning to affirm CPSU and the ASU determination to "continue their course to develop cooperation and friendship between the Soviet people and the UAR people in all fields."

State occasions also provide opportunities for the exchange of visits. Immediately following Nasser's death a whole stream of high powered Soviet personalities and delegations visited the UAR, partly to bolster the morale of the Cairo regime, and partly to insure that the Soviet investment would be safe. Premier Kosygin was one of the dignitaries attending Nasser's funeral. Between September 29 and October 5, he had numerous discussions with virtually

every important leader in Egypt. Western sources agreed at the time that Kosygin probably refrained from making any suggestion as to who should succeed Nasser. However, he stressed the view that stability in Egypt was the primary concern of Moscow. He also cautioned against allowing the army to gain a controlling influence and urged strongly that immediate steps be taken to strengthen the ASU and its political activities.

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*An Open Letter*

TO

**COMRADE ALEXEI N. KOSYGIN**  
**CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS**  
**OF THE SOVIET UNION**

AND

**COMRADE LEONID I. BREZHNEV**  
**GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**  
**OF THE SOVIET UNION**

**FROM A COMMANDER OF THE ANYA NYA**

YOUR EXCELLENCIES,

Many Black Africans have returned from the Soviet Union with vivid descriptions of the persecution of Black Africans by the Soviet people. They have described numerous brutal beatings of Africans at the hands of Soviet mobs while the police stood idly by and watched. They have given detailed accounts of the murders of Africans. We know of the Ghanians — Ogyana Koranteng from Woraware, who was stabbed to death while traveling from Sochi, and Edmund Asarc-Addo, beaten to death near the Khovrino Railroad Station just outside Moscow; of the Nigerian — Sigismund Abiodun Sanni, found dead in 1969 in the river near Kiev University; and of the Kenyan — James Gakio of Fort Hall, who was slain in Kiev on November 6, 1969.

The generally hostile attitude of the Soviet people toward Black Africans may be summed up in the phrase that the Soviet people use most frequently in describing the Africans — “chorni obezyani” which means “black monkeys.”

It is not difficult to understand the attitude of crude and boorish Soviet mobs toward someone they do not understand. There are few Blacks in the Soviet Union and contact with those that are there must be a new and strange experience for the average uncultured Soviet citizen, and it may be presumed that the actions of the mob were not officially endorsed by the Soviet government.

During the period 1962-1967 the Egyptians were engaged in a campaign to subdue the people of Yemen and to annex that nation to the UAR. Unable to defeat the courageous Yemeni by their own efforts, the Egyptians called in the Soviet Union to support the war. The Soviet government responded with alacrity, first supplying armaments and then the skilled technicians who were required to replace the inept Egyptians in order to exploit the armaments in the manner for which they were designed. The

Soviet technicians performed their jobs proficiently, bombing, strafing and napalming the defenceless Yemeni peasants and nomads, and according to the International Red Cross, even resorting to the dispersion of poison gas by aerial bombing when the Yemeni refused to surrender to more conventional bombing attacks.

Even though these Soviet activities against Yemen were undertaken with the full approval and commitment of the Soviet government, they too can be understood within the context of the traditional desire of the Russian Tsarists and subsequently the Soviet Union to acquire naval bases in warm water seas such as the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. And certainly gaining the Yemen port of Hudaydah as a Soviet warm water naval base was worth the risk of being censured by world opinion for engaging in genocide against the Yemeni. Moreover, the unyielding hatred of the godless Soviet Union for Islam provided additional incentive for Soviet slaughter of Yemeni.

During 1970 the Soviet government undertook a new and apparently quite callous initiative: it raised the unofficial persecution of Black Africans in the Soviet Union to the level of an official campaign in support of the genocide against the Black population of the Southern Sudan currently being practised by the Sudan Government. Thus the Soviet government undertook an effort along lines paralleling the earlier Soviet support of Egyptian genocide in Yemen.

Why was the Soviet government willing to risk whatever good will it had been able to achieve in Black Africa in a racist war designed to destroy the Blacks in the Southern Sudan? What were the Soviet political and strategic objectives in taking a course of action which ultimately could only frighten and provoke the independent nations of Black Africa?

As in the parallel example of Soviet support of Egyptian genocide in Yemen, the Soviet government came to the rescue of a client state, the Sudan, which was unable to fight its own war of suppression against its own nationals in its southern reaches. The old iron chain of requirements is in evidence here: first, the supply of armaments in exchange for political and strategic advantages; then the provision of military technicians as advisors to forestall inept and recalcitrant troops from displaying the weapons that they received in a bad light through mishandling; finally, all-in Soviet shoring up of the military arm of the client state through the use of Soviet troops in direct combat with the adversary of the client state. In return for this direct support, the Soviet government extracts compensation from the client state in the form of political support but, more tangibly, warm water naval bases — in this instance, Port Sudan and Suakin on the Red Sea — and air bases at Wadi Saidna and Juba. The latter base thrusts deep into East Africa, outflanking Ethiopia and Kenya and within easy bombing range of Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and much of Congo Kinshasa, the site of an earlier Soviet-sponsored revolt against the Congolese government of General Mobutu.

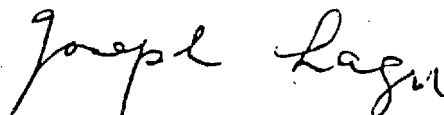
illusion that you could quietly and secretly engage in the total annihilation of five million Blacks in the Southern Sudan without this genocide coming before world public opinion. After all, half a million of these unfortunate Black Southern Sudanese have already been slaughtered with not a word of protest by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and other world bodies. Or perhaps you, Comrades Kosygin and Brezhnev, were so eager to achieve your political and strategic objectives that you did not really give a damn about what world opinion would think or do in response to your foul support of genocide in the Southern Sudan.

Well, Comrades Kosygin and Brezhnev, we Black Southern Sudanese, who are earmarked for extinction by the Soviet army and air force in fulfillment of some Soviet vested interest, do care about what you are doing to us. We do care about our people being slaughtered; our homes, schools, churches and mosques being destroyed; and our women and daughters being raped by your Sudanese allies. We care because, contrary to your views of us, we are not "chorni obezyani" — "black monkeys" but MEN. Men of flesh and blood and feelings such as courage and a will to live. And we tell you here and now that whatever world opinion does or does not do, we shall die taking your men and planes and helicopters and tanks with us (as we have already done many times) rather than waiting about for you to conclude your genocide against us on your terms.

We are well aware of your successful genocide against various Moslem peoples in the Soviet Union including the 500,000 Chechen-Ingush whom you have uprooted from their ancestral home in the Caucasus and destroyed as a people. We know you also wiped out the entire ethnic groups of 200,000 Crimean Tartars and 150,000 Kalmucks. We tell you we Black Southern Sudanese are not Chechen-Ingush, Crimean Tartars or even Kalmucks; we are MEN. And if you wish to destroy us, you must first defeat us as men. We know of your genocide in Yemen and we say to you, Comrades Kosygin and Brezhnev, we are not Yemen, we are MEN.

Respectfully,

AFRICANS FOR  
ENDING  
GENOCIDE  
IN  
SUDAN



Cnel. Joseph Lagu

on behalf of the Anya Nya  
AEGIS Committee

*An Open Letter*

**TO HIS EXCELLENCY KENNETH KAUNDA**

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA**

**CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY**

**FROM A COMMANDER OF THE ANYA NYA**

**YOUR EXCELLENCY,**

We Southern Sudanese, living under extreme repression in our homeland or as refugees in friendly African countries appeal to Your Excellency to become aware of our plight and raise your benevolent voice in our behalf.

We turn to Your Excellency as a true friend of the oppressed to speak out for us in international councils. Will not Your Excellency, who has spoken for peoples under the colonial yoke throughout Africa, place before the world our story — a story of shame and misery, a story of a people who have suffered half a million deaths because their skin and their culture is different from their northern compatriots. The comparison though vile must be made: we have endured many times more deaths through murder, repression and disease than all the African freedom movements combined. And yet the Organisation of African Unity will not even allow our story to be heard in its councils.

Our Gethsemane, cruel though it has been, was made infinitely more painful by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which have undertaken to assist and direct our Sudanese and Egyptian tormentors in the genocide being conducted at our expense. Even as we write to you, Soviet tanks with Russian drivers are rumbling through our villages, killing and maiming our defenceless people and our livestock with their cannon and machineguns, burning our homes, churches, mosques, and schools with their flamethrowers and crushing our garden plots under their bogies. MIG-21 jets with Soviet pilots overhead smash our bodies and our buildings with their bombs, searing our flesh and our souls with their napalm. MI-8 helicopters with Soviet pilots, navigators and gunners strafe and rocket our men and boys and, when they are dead, leave our women and girls to be raped and mutilated by the Sudanese soldiers.

Besides being killed by Soviet arms daily, thousands die from disease and famine. Nearly six newly born babies out of ten die from malaria and a host each year from malnutrition as a result of shortages in vitamin giving foods. Thousands perish from exposure to bad weather. Hospitals and schools have been either destroyed, closed or turned into military barracks. The entire population is a dying one, their conditions are pathetic. They have no permanent shelter, but hide under mosquito-infested trees and in caves.

When our people flee the Sudan to live in peace as refugees in neighbouring countries, the Sudanese troops under the tutelage of their Soviet masters, well-experienced in suppression of peoples' uprisings, cross the international borders and massacre our people on *non-Sudanese soil*. Aside from the bestial inhumanity these acts reveal, they are affronts to international law and morality. And the world does not seem to know or care that these criminal acts have been going on for 15 years and are still continuing. The only difference now is that the Russians are aiding and abetting this Sudanese genocide.

Your Excellency may well ask how we know the Russians are in the Southern Sudan helping the government and their Egyptian allies. We have seen them moving about in the streets of Juba where they are based, flying the MI-8 helicopters and firing at us the rockets and guns of these helicopters. We have heard them communicating with each other in their tanks and in their planes. We have heard the screams of wounded Russian pilots. We have buried the bodies of Russian airmen who perished with their helicopters.

Our poor land does not have the oil of Angola, the chrome of Zimbabwe or the diamonds of Namibia. No imperialists covet our meagre resources. All we ask of life is to be allowed to live it. We do not seek foreign arms, money or men. All we beg from the rest of Africa and the world is the recognition that we are human beings, not animals, and the right to live as human beings. Is this an unjust demand?

Your Excellency, who is a peaceful man, may question why we do not surrender our arms and cooperate with the Sudanese government. We have attempted to do so many times. William Deng, an illustrious scholar and statesman, chose the path of cooperation. He was shot dead by the Sudanese army shortly after his election in Tonj Central Constituency. His name is but one of scores of the most talented southerners whose choice of cooperation resulted in their murder or incarceration.

Among the ordinary people, many have tried to cooperate. They have been repaid by being slaughtered in their homes and in their churches and mosques. One example among thousands may be cited from a recent book, *Sudan, An African Tragedy*, by a Norwegian journalist. Discussing a massacre of a group of communicants in a church, the author described what he saw as "the burned chapel, the wounded, the burned bones and skulls of the 50 innocent civilians, including children, murdered in cold blood." This incident took place within the last six months.

The Sudanese government and its army frequently announce so-called "amnesties" under which the 500,000 Southern Sudanese refugees in neighbouring states are invited to return to the Sudan. Those who have responded to these amnesties have been massacred.

The Sudanese government and its Egyptian and Soviet masters

together against a single problem: the genocide of the Africans in the Sudan. Among the foremost guerilla generals in the Southern Sudan are the Moslems, Abdel Rahman Suli and Paul Ali Gbatala.

For what crime then are we condemned to annihilation? Whatever the crime it must be heinous, because we have paid the full measure of five hundred thousand lives for this crime. Is it because we were born black? Because we do not wish to be slaves? Because we dare to assert we are men?

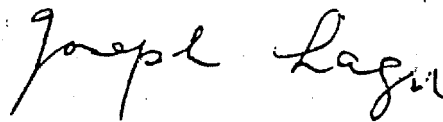
Will Africa and the world forever look away in the hope that we will all quietly die out and relieve the conscience of those who pretend we do not exist? Or, even worse, those who recognise our existence, but pretend we do not suffer and die? Will no one speak out in our behalf?

If but one African leader or statesman raised his voice for us, surely others would follow. But no one will be first. Therefore we must suffer in a backwash of human misery, relegated to limbo of despair, until every African man, woman and child in the Southern Sudan, no matter what his tribe or religion, is dead. Dead from the machines of war or the concomitant horrors of starvation and disease. Is there no statesman to tell our story to the world? Not one just man?

Do not forsake us, Excellency. Bring our case before the OAU and the world. LET US BUT LIVE. In the name of God and humanism, treat us like men. FOR WE ARE MEN.

Respectfully,

**AFRICANS FOR  
ENDING  
GENOCIDE  
IN  
SUDAN**



Cnel. Joseph Lagu

on behalf of the Anya Nya  
AEGIS Committee

His Excellency  
President Kenneth Kaunda

*An Open Letter*

**TO HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
FROM A COMMANDER OF THE ANYA NYA**

**YOUR EXCELLENCY,**

In 1956 the Southern Sudan problem was an embarrassment to the United Nations. Now 15 years and one million deaths later the Southern Sudan is still an embarrassment to the United Nations. It is also an embarrassment to the Organisation of African Unity; to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan; to Sudan's senior partner, Egypt; and to Egypt's puppeteer, the Soviet Union. Of course, the Southern Sudan problem is also embarrassing to us Southern Sudanese; for genocide generally is most embarrassing to its victims.

We realise the reluctance of the United Nations to take sides in an internal dispute, in this instance between the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan and the Black Africans who live in the three southernmost provinces of Sudan. We are not asking Your Excellency or the United Nations to take sides, we are merely asking you to recognise the existence of the awful fact of the genocide of Black Southern Sudanese and to bring this fact before world public opinion. Perhaps then an informed opinion will exert sufficient moral pressure on the Sudanese Government and its Egyptian and Soviet masters to end the awesome genocide.

The Sudanese Government do not acknowledge the existence of genocide against the Black Southern Sudanese. The Sudan Government, as the oppressor, have the prerogative of refusing such acknowledgement. As the victims of genocide, we have no such prerogative. We must speak out in the hope that Your Excellency, the United Nations and the World will listen, or we must suffer our extermination.

United Nations statistics estimate one million dead Black Southern Sudanese and 500,000 exiles in the neighbouring states of Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Congo and Central African Republic. Perhaps one million deaths and 500,000 exiles out of four million Southern Sudanese do not constitute genocide. Would a total of three million dead and one million exiles be considered genocide? At the present accelerated rate of slaughter by the Sudanese troops with their new Soviet tanks, aircraft and helicopters; their Egyptian pilots who drop bombs and napalm on the Southern villages; and their Soviet tactical support advisors who fly the helicopters and man the guns directed at the Black Southern Sudanese people, we should achieve three million dead and one million exiles within the next several years. Or perhaps six million is the total dead that must be achieved before a proper definition of genocide can be made. When all the Black Southern Sudanese have been liquidated, to achieve the total of six million, it will then only

be necessary for the Sudanese Government and its Egyptian and Soviet numbers to slaughter two million Black Nubas, Fur, and Nigerians and other West African Moslem pilgrims who settled in the Sudan. Will six million dead and exiled Black Sudanese constitute genocide? If six million is the total to gain the acceptance of world public opinion that the Sudanese Government is practising genocide, such acceptance will have to come too late to be meaningful to our people; our bombed out schools, churches, and mosques; our sequestered livestock; our burned down grain fields; our way of life.

The Sudanese Government troops have not been content to destroy all our villages and kill all our people in the Sudan, they have crossed international boundaries to continue the slaughter in the Republic of the Congo and in Uganda. In the most recent of such incidents during December 23 and 24, 1970, Sudanese Government troops engaged in several firefights with Ugandan army and police, killing and wounding Ugandan soldiers and suffering casualties themselves. Sudanese troops are currently poised to cross Ethiopian boundaries to slay our people in their Ethiopian camps.

Several journalists from both West and East who have been escorted to Juba by the Sudanese Government have reported that there are no traces of genocide in the Southern Sudan and that Southern Sudanese refugees are returning to the Sudan in large numbers from neighbouring states. This news would be most welcome to us if it were true. To prove the veracity of such claims, we implore Your Excellency and the United Nations to negotiate with the Sudanese Government to have them authorise a United Nations Commission to tour the three Southern Sudanese provinces which have been and are the sites of depredation, pillage and slaughter by Sudanese Government troops. For our part, we promise safe conduct to such a United Nations observation group. If the Sudanese Government will not permit a trip into Southern Sudan, the United Nations Commission could visit the Southern Sudanese refugee camps in the neighbouring countries and ascertain for themselves whether refugees are leaving the Sudan to enter the camps or returning to the Sudan from the camps. The huge number of additions to the rolls of those who must accept aid from the few international organisations feeding the Sudanese refugees speaks for itself.

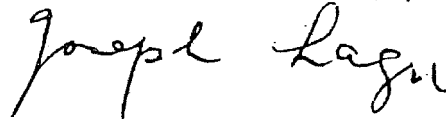
Finally the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan charge that we Black Southern Sudanese are imperialist stooges and colonial tools for not allowing ourselves to be exterminated in silence and for fighting back. We shall agree that we are imperialist stooges when we are supported by several hundred Russian advisors, driving Soviet tanks for us and flying late model MIG-21 fighter planes and TU-16 medium bombers in support of our infantry divisions. We shall admit to being colonial tools when the Soviet artillery fires against Sudanese troops on our behalf and when Soviet helicopter gunships with Russian pilots and gunners strafe and napalm Sudanese villages, schools, churches and mosques. The Sudanese Government can more easily prove their charges of Black Southern Sudanese imperialism when they shoot down ten of our Soviet helicopters as we have shot down ten of their Soviet helicopters.



In short, we are our own men, fighting not for the supremacy of Communism or Pan-Arabism or Arab Socialism but for our own SURVIVAL. WE WANT TO LIVE AS HUMAN BEINGS. WON'T YOUR EXCELLENCY AND THE UNITED NATIONS HELP US TO SURVIVE?

Respectfully,

AFRICANS FOR  
ENDING  
GENOCIDE  
IN  
SUDAN



Col. Joseph Lagu

on behalf of the Anya Nya

CPYRGHT

His Excellency U Thant

THE GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY, London  
Sept. - Oct. 1970

CPYRGHT

## Africa's Forgotten Racial War

The world's press continues to virtually ignore the civil war in the southern Sudan — the bitter racial conflict between Arabs and Africans which has been raging in remote bush-country for the past 15 years.

It was therefore timely that DIE PRESSE, neutral Austria's foremost independent newspaper, recently examined the background to the war in a long article based partly on interviews with leading Sudanese refugees living in East Africa.

According to the Vienna newspaper, almost a million people have been killed in the war. "It is David and Goliath who are fighting here", the article says. The Africans of the South, dressed in rags and sacking and armed with pangas, spears, bows and arrows — few have firearms — fight against jet aircraft and bombs.

The war began in 1955 with a local uprising by African southerners against their Arab rulers. The southerners, says the article, have nothing to lose, but their lives, for the South has always been neglected by successive predominantly Arab governments in Khartoum.

The Africans' plight became even worse in 1958 when General Abboud seized power as President of the Sudan in a bloodless coup d'état. His military régime pursued a strict policy of Arabisation and Islamisation. Christian missionaries were expelled, Arabic was made the sole national language, and 1,500,000 Arabs are settled in the predominantly African South.

the African people there. In 1962, the Sudan African National Union (SANU) was established abroad and has since fought its cause through many appeals and petitions to international organisations.

The activity abroad of the southern Sudanese politicians, the Presse article says, led to increased repression at home. Villages were burned down and plundered, and their inhabitants — men, women and children — were murdered.

These horrors led to the founding of a movement called Anya'nya in 1963. This is the name of a deadly venom obtained by grinding the dried head of a cobra to a fine powder.

The guerrillas who had been in existence since 1955 were reorganised by Anya'nya into a more efficient fighting force.

In 1964, General Abboud's military régime fell, and the general secretary of SANU, William Deng, who was murdered last year in Khartoum, returned to the central government along with other exiled politicians.

This marked the beginning of deep splits within the ranks of the African opposition.

In 1965, Joseph Oduha unified various rival groups of southern Sudanese politicians in the Anya'nya Liberation Front (ALF). But in 1967 a so-called "provisional government" was founded in the southern Sudan without the co-operation of the ALF, and in 1968 it began calling itself the "Nile Provisional Government".

ciplined force, which they called the Anya'nya National Organisation (ANO).

Since then the movement to set up an African State in the southern Sudan has been divided into two main groups: the Nile Provisional Government and the ANO. A third group, the United Sudanese African Liberation Front, was formed in Congo-Kinshasa in March, 1970. It aims at achieving an African-ruled Sudan cut off from international Arab influence.

The President of the Nile Provisional Government is Gordon Mayen, former Minister of Labour in Khartoum.

This "government" has declared the three provinces of the southern Sudan independent of Khartoum and called them the "Nile Republic". Its "parliament" meets in a mud hut deep in forest country. So far it has not been discovered by the Arabs. The most secret parliament in the world sounds like a tragic-comedy, but the actors are in deadly earnest, says the Presse article.

The military arm of the Nile Government is the Anya'nya National Armed Forces (ANAF).

The other main group, the ANO, has no civilian organisation. It is purely military and is critical of members of the Nile Government.

The territory of the southern Sudan is twice the size of the German Federal Republic. It is mostly a malaria-infested, humid country of forest and dense scrubland in which snakes and wild animals abound.

The small towns in the South, which are strongly fortified against Anya'nya attack, are now inhabited only by Arabs, the Africans having fled for fear of further persecution.

In the bush, Anya-nya law prevails. This area is too big and too unwieldy for the Arab government troops to be able to control it entirely. For their part, the Africans are too weak, too under-nourished and too ill-equipped in arms to be able to fight Khartoum on their own for independence. Their efforts have had relatively little effect on the superior government forces.

But they do keep a professional army of more than 10,000 men pinned down by guerrilla harassment. This includes blowing up bridges and roads, attacking road convoys and ships on the Nile, and disrupting the rail link between Khartoum and other centres.

The authorities in Khartoum strike back, of course. "They (the Arabs) usually come in the grey dawn, surround a village, and throw firebrands on the thatched roofs", says Joseph Oduha. "The inhabitants flee in panic from this burning hell straight into the hands of the Arabs, who torture, rape and murder this easy prey — mostly women, children and the sick".

The men usually live in the bush, fighting or training to fight, and they leave farming to the women and children in the few areas which

find traces of African settlements, they burn everything to the ground again, the Presse article says.

This is why so many southern Sudanese have fled their homeland. Many more have died of hunger.

Legally there is no racial discrimination in the Sudan. However, according to the Austrian newspaper article, the Arabs, who have been the ruling class for generations and in the past kept Africans as slaves, still regard the African population in the South as a second-class people.

"They have made the Sudan into an Arab State", says Joseph Oduha bitterly. The Africans must either humble themselves or be "rooted out".

Military aid, says the newspaper article, flows in freely from Moscow to the Arab authorities in Khartoum. Russian MiG aircraft bombard southern Sudanese villages, and the Sudanese army gets special training from Soviet military advisers.

Spokesmen for the Nile Government and for the ANO both spoke to the writer of the Presse article in East Africa recently.

Stephen Lamm, of the Nile Government, said: "Does not God say that all men are born free and equal? But the Arabs will never recognise us as equal beings. They will never give the South a chance to develop economically, socially and educationally. For our part, we will not be put off with a compromise. For us there is nothing less than full independence".

Joseph Oduha spoke for ANO: "We shall carry on fighting a guerrilla war until something decisive happens in the political arenas of the world, perhaps in the Middle East".

Lasse Jensen, Africa correspondent of Denmark's national radio station, recently visited the Sudan and wrote about that country in an article published by the Stockholm Dagens Nyheter. This Liberal daily newspaper, founded over a hundred years ago, is one of neutral Sweden's most authoritative publications.

The article said: "Since the coup d'état last year (the one which brought Major-General Nimeiri to power at the head of a left-wing régime) the number of Egyptian advisers, experts, diplomats and soldiers has increased from a few hundreds to about 10,000".

The article also said that Russian economic advisers in Sudan's Finance Ministry were thought to have planned the recent nationalisation measure, and Bulgarians had helped train the Sudanese army.

Recent Soviet aid to the Sudanese forces included the supply of MiG-21 fighter aircraft suitable for anti-guerrilla operations in the South.

The Sudan is not the only country in Africa torn by racial conflicts involving Arabs. The Libyan Government is assisting a small group of would-be secessionist in Chad, and the Sudan is aiding a similar bloody attempt at secession in the Eritrean Province of Ethiopia.

Your Excellency,

In 1956 the Southern Sudan problem was an embarrassment to the United Nations. Now 15 years and one million deaths later the Southern Sudan is still an embarrassment to the United Nations. It is also an embarrassment to the Organisation of African Unity; to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan; to Sudan's senior partner, Egypt; and to Egypt's puppeteer, the Soviet Union. Of course, the Southern Sudan problem is also embarrassing to us Southern Sudanese; for genocide generally is most embarrassing to its victims.

We realise the reluctance of the Organisation of African Unity to take sides in an internal dispute, in this instance between the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan and the Black Africans who live in the three southernmost provinces of Sudan. We are not asking Your Excellency or the OAU to take sides, we are merely asking you to recognise the existence of the awful fact of the genocide of Black Southern Sudanese and to bring this fact before world public opinion. Perhaps then an informed opinion will exert sufficient moral pressure on the Sudanese Government and its Egyptian and Soviet masters to end the awesome genocide.

United Nations statistics estimate one million dead Black Southern Sudanese and 500,000 exiles in the neighbouring states of Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Congo and Central African Republic. Perhaps one million deaths and 500,000 exiles out of four million Southern Sudanese do not constitute genocide. Would a total of three million dead and one million exiles be considered genocide? At the present accelerated rate of slaughter by the Sudanese troops with their new Soviet tanks, aircraft and helicopters; their Egyptian pilots who drop bombs and napalm on the Southern villages; and their Soviet tactical support advisors who fly the helicopters and man the guns directed at the Black Southern Sudanese people, we should achieve three million dead and one million exiles within the next several years. Or perhaps six million is the total dead that must be achieved before a proper definition of genocide can be made. When all the Black Southern Sudanese have been liquidated, to achieve the total of six million, it will then only be necessary for the Sudanese Government and its Egyptian and Soviet mentors to slaughter two million Black Nubas, Fur and Nigerians and other West African Moslem pilgrims who settled in the Sudan. Will six million dead and exiled Black Sudanese constitute genocide? If six million is the total to gain the acceptance of world public opinion that the Sudanese Government is practising genocide, such acceptance will have to come too late to be meaningful to our people; our bombed out schools, churches, and mosques; our sequestered livestock; our burned down grain fields; our way of life.

The Sudanese Government have reported that there are no traces of genocide in the Southern Sudan and that Southern Sudanese refugees are returning to the Sudan in large numbers from neighbouring states. Will Your Excellency and the OAU negotiate with the Sudanese Government to authorise an OAU Commission to tour the three Southern Sudanese provinces which have been and are the sites of depredation, pillage and slaughter by Sudanese Government troops. For our part, we can arrange safe conduct to such an OAU observation group. If the Sudanese Government will not permit

the trip, the OAU Commission could visit the Southern Sudanese refugee camps in the neighbouring countries and ascertain for themselves whether refugees are leaving the Sudan to enter the camps or returning to the Sudan from the camps. The huge number of additions to the rolls of those who must accept aid from the few international organisations feeding the Sudanese refugees speaks for itself.

Finally the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan charges that we Black Southern Sudanese are imperialist stooges and colonial tools for not allowing ourselves to be exterminated in silence and for fighting back. We shall agree that we are imperialist stooges when we are supported by several hundred Russian advisors, driving Soviet tanks for us and flying late model MIG-21 fighter planes and TU-16 medium bombers in support of our infantry divisions. We shall admit to being colonial tools when the Soviet artillery fires against Sudanese troops on our behalf and when Soviet helicopter gunships with Russian pilots and gunners strafe and napalm Sudanese villages, schools, churches and mosques. The Sudanese Government can more easily prove their charges of Black Southern Sudanese imperialism when they shoot down ten of our Soviet helicopters as we have shot down ten of their Soviet helicopters.

In short, we are our own men, fighting not for the supremacy of Communism or Pan-Arabism or Arab Socialism but for our own SURVIVAL. WE WANT TO LIVE AS HUMAN BEINGS. WON'T YOUR EXCELLENCY AND THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY HELP US TO SURVIVE.

Respectfully,



President, Union of Southern Sudanese Students

LE COURRIER DE LA LIBERTE  
Tananarive, Oct-Nov 1970

# Une guerre oubliée d'Afrique

La presse continue d'oublier la guerre civile qui se poursuit dans le Soudan du Sud — un conflit racial entre Africains et Arabes qui fait rage depuis 15 ans.

C'est donc à propos que le principal journal indépendant de la neutre Autriche, DIE PRESSE, a examiné récemment les conditions de cette guerre dans un long article fondé en partie sur des interviews accordés par des dirigeants soudanais réfugiés en Afrique orientale.

Selon le journal viennois, près d'un million de personnes ont déjà été tuées dans cette guerre. «C'est le combat de David et de Goliath», dit le journal. «Les Africains du Sud, vêtus de guenilles et armés de lances, d'arcs et de flèches — peu d'entre eux ont des armes à feu — luttent contre des chasseurs à réaction et des bombes.

La guerre a commencé en 1955 par un soulèvement local, organisé par les Africains contre leurs dirigeants arabes. Ces Africains, vivant dans le sud, n'ont rien à perdre, hors leur vie, car le Sud a toujours été négligé par les différents gouvernements de Khartoum, à prédominance arabe.

Le sort des Africains empira encore en 1958 quand le général Abboud s'empara du pouvoir par un coup d'Etat sans effusion de sang et devint Président du Soudan. Son régime militaire poursuivit une stricte politique d'arabisation et d'islamisation. Les missionnaires chrétiens furent expulsés, l'arabe devint la seule langue nationale et 1.500.000 Arabes s'établirent dans le Sud à prédominance africaine.

Quand ce plan de colonisation fut connue dans le Sud, les Africains s'y opposèrent. En 1962, l'Union Nationale du Soudan Africain (UNSA) s'établit à l'étranger et depuis, elle a lutté pour sa cause par des appels et des pétitions aux organisations internationales.

L'activité des politiciens soudanais à l'étranger, d'oute Die Presse, a causé une répression accrue dans le pays. Des villages furent brûlés et pillés, et leurs habitants — hommes, femmes et enfants — assassinés.

Ces horreurs eurent pour conséquence la fondation d'un mouvement appelé Anya'nya, en 1963. Ce nom est celui d'un poison mortel qu'on obtient en réduisant en poussière la tête séchée d'un cobra.

Anya'nya transforma la guérilla, qui existait depuis 1955, en une force de combat plus efficace.

Le régime du général Abboud tomba, et le secrétaire général de l'UNSA,

William Deng, qui fut assassiné l'an dernier à Khartoum, retourna dans le gouvernement avec d'autres politiciens exilés.

Ceci marqua le début de profondes divergences dans les rangs de l'opposition africaine.

En 1965, Joseph Oduha réunit les groupes rivaux des politiciens du Soudan du Sud sous l'égide du Front de Libération de l'Any'a'nya (FLA). Mais, en 1967, un soi-disant «gouvernement provisoire» fut fondé dans le Soudan du Sud sans l'aide du FLA, et, en 1968, il commença à s'appeler le «Gouvernement Provisoire du Nil». Oduha s'opposa violemment à ce mouvement. Avec l'aide de Joseph Lagu, chef du FLA dans la province équatoriale, ils réunirent une force disciplinée qu'ils appelèrent l'Organisation Nationale de l'Any'a'nya (ONA).

Depuis lors, les mouvements voulant créer un Etat africain dans le Sud du Soudan se sont divisés en deux groupes principaux: le Gouvernement Provisoire du Nil et l'ONA. Un troisième groupe, le Front Uni de Libération du Soudan Africain fut créé en mars 1970 au Congo-Kinshasa. Son but est de réaliser un Soudan gouverné par les Africains et ne subissant plus l'influence arabe.

Le président du Gouvernement Provisoire du Nil est Gordon Mayen, ancien ministre du Travail à Khartoum. Ce gouvernement a déclaré l'indépendance des trois provinces du Sud du Soudan et les a appelées la «République du Nil». Son «parlement» siège dans une hutte de terre, en pleine forêt. Jusqu'ici, il n'a pas été découvert par les Arabes. Le parlement le plus secret au monde, cela a l'air d'une tragédie, mais les acteurs sont terriblement sérieux, dit l'article de Presse. Les Forces Armées Nationales de l'Any'a'nya représentent l'organisation militaire du Gouvernement du Nil.

L'autre groupe principal, l'ONA, n'a pas d'organisation civile. Il est purement militaire et se montre très critique envers les membres du Gouvernement du Nil.

Le territoire du Soudan du Sud équivaut à deux fois celui de la République Fédérale Allemande. C'est un pays de forêts humides infesté par la malaria, et dans lequel les serpents et les animaux sauvages abondent.

Les petites villes du Sud, fortifiées contre les attaques de l'Any'a'nya ne sont habitées maintenant que par des Arabes, les Africains ayant fui par crainte des persécutions. Dans la brousse, la loi de l'Any'a'nya prévaut. Cette région est trop peu maniable et trop grande pour que les troupes arabes puissent la contrôler entièrement. De jour, cette région est trop sombre, trop mal éclairée et les Africains sont trop faibles, trop mal nourris et

trop mal équipés en armes pour lutter avec succès. Les seuls efforts ont eu relativement peu d'effets sur des forces gouvernementales en nombre supérieure..

Mais, par leur tactique de guérilla, ils réussissent à harasser une armée professionnelle de plus de 10.000 hommes. Cela comprend la destruction de ponts et de routes, l'attaque de convois routiers et de bateaux sur le Nil, la coupure des voies de chemin de fer reliant Khartoum à d'autres centres.

Bien sûr, les autorités de Khartoum ripostent. «Ils (les Arabes) arrivent généralement à la tombée de la nuit, entourent un village et jettent des tisons sur les toits de chaumes», dit Joseph Oduha. «Affolés, les habitants s'enfuient de cet enfer brûlant et tombent entre les mains des Arabes qui les torturent, les violent et les assassinent — la plupart du temps, ce sont des femmes, des enfants, et des malades».

Les hommes vivent habituellement dans la brousse, combattant ou s'entraînant au combat. Ils laissent à leurs femmes et à leurs enfants le soin de cultiver le peu de terres qui peut encore l'être. Chaque fois que les Arabes trouvent des traces de campement africain, ils réduisent tout à nouveau en cendres, dit l'article de Die Presse. C'est pourquoi un grand nombre de Soudanais du Sud ont fui leur pays. Plus encore sont morts de faim.

Il n'y a légalement pas de discrimination raciale au Soudan. Cependant, selon le journal autrichien, les Arabes qui ont été la classe dominante pendant des générations et qui ont, dans le passé, considéré les Africains comme des esclaves, jugent encore la population africaine du Sud comme une race de seconde classe. «Ils ont transformé le Soudan en un Etat arabe», dit avec amertume Joseph Oduha. «Les Africains doivent s'humilier ou être déracinés».

Une aide militaire, continue le journal, est apportée par le Kremlin aux autorités arabes de Khartoum. Des Migs russes bombardent les villages du Soudan du Sud, et l'armée soudanaise reçoit un entraînement spécial des conseillers militaires soviétiques.

Des porte-paroles du gouvernement du Nil et de l'ONA ont parlé récemment, en Afrique orientale, à l'auteur de l'article de Die Presse.

Stephen Lamm, du gouvernement du Nil, a dit: «Dieu ne dit-il pas que tous les hommes naissent égaux et libres? Mais les Arabes ne nous reconnaîtront jamais comme de êtres égaux. Ils ne donneront jamais au Sud une chance de se développer sur le plan économique, social et éducatif. De notre côté, nous n'admettrons pas de compromis. Nous ne voulons rien de moins qu'une indépendance complète». Joseph Oduha parla au nom de l'ONA: «Nous continuerons la guérilla jusqu'à

ce qu'un événement décisif se produise dans la région orientale, au profit de l'Arabie Orientale».

Lasse Jensen, correspondant en Afrique de la radio nationale du Danemark, a visité dernièrement le Soudan et en a rapporté ses impressions dans un article publié par le journal de Stockholm, Dagens Nyheter. Ce quotidien libéral, fondé il y a environ cent ans, fait autorité dans la neutre Suède.

L'article disait: «Depuis le coup d'Etat de l' en dernier (celui qui amena au pouvoir le Major-Général Nimeiri, à la tête d'un régime de gauche), le nombre des conseillers égyptiens, experts, diplomates, et soldats a passé de quelques centaines à près de 10.000.» L'article ajoutait que l'on pensait que les conseillers économiques russes avaient préparé les récentes mesures de nationalisation et que les Bulgares entraînaient l'armée soudanaise. Des chasseurs Mig-21, pouvant servir à des opérations contre la guérilla du Sud, ont été inclus dans les dernières livraisons de matériel soviétique aux forces armées soudanaises.

Le Soudan n'est pas le seul pays africain déchiré par des conflits raciaux et dans lequel sont impliqués des Arabes. Le gouvernement libyen aide un petit groupe de sécessionnistes en puissance au Tchad, et les gouvernements de Syrie et du Yémen du Sud favorisent une tentative de sécession, sanglante et similaire, dans la province érythréenne de l'Éthiopie.

THE CATHOLIC VIRGINIAN  
25 December 1970

CPYRGHT

## South Sudanese Pressing UN Hearing on Persecution Charge

CPYRGHT

By Kathleen McLaughlin  
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (NC)

— Two emissaries from the South Sudan Liberation Front have been trying for the past several weeks to offer testimony before some committee of the United Nations on the alleged persecution of South Sudanese.

The two claim that religious, racial and political persecution has been imposed on their people by the predominantly Arab and Moslem government at Khartoum, the Sudan's capital, for more than eight years. The South Sudanese are black Africans, and a great many of them are Christians.

Since the Sudan gained independence in 1956, the government — dominated by Arab northerners — has been trying to unify the country by imposing the Moslem religion and the Arab language on the southerners. Guerrilla warfare

thousands of southerners were killed while thousands more sought refuge in neighboring countries. Christian schools were closed and most missionaries expelled.

The two black spokesmen, Frederick B. Maggott and Lawrence Wol Wol, are intense and articulate about the factors responsible for the ordeal they and their compatriots have endured for so long.

The Arabs in the north, they asserted, are committed to the creation of an Islamic republic of the Sudan, in a socialist or Communist guise, and to eliminating the Christian leadership among the southern population.

In the south, they added, the black citizens want greater autonomy, with adequate representation in the national parliament. They have not sought to become independent because they

stronger economically and socially as a single state.

Both men are aware of the prescription in the United Nations charter against interference in the internal affairs of any member state. They said they understand that to present their case against their own government, they must enlist the good offices of some neighboring nation. To date, no African delegation has been willing to assume the hypersensitive role of accuser.

Nevertheless, they maintained, genocidal operations being conducted against the blacks in the south have reached the stage at which human lives and rights are being destroyed on such a scale that, if left unchecked, they may decimate the population there.

Since 1962, they said, nearly one million southern Sudanese men, women and children have perished either through famine and disease, or have been killed by bombs or gunfire. Another 300,000 — including many of the intelligentsia — are living as refugees in Uganda, Kenya, the Congo, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic, they said.

Those remaining exist in an atmosphere of terror, hiding in tropical forests and the mountains, or under threat of sudden military attacks by the army, they added.

"Soviet-supplied MIG's and helicopters are using fire bombs and rockets to strafe villages there," the two said.

"In the last six months villages in the Upper Nile and Equatoria province have been badly bombed, killing people and livestock; and in the past eight weeks the towns of Morta and Ido were destroyed through bombings and attacks by armored cars."

Maggott and Wol Wol described their area as one in which social services have ceased to exist. The economy has been shattered, they asserted; hospitals and schools have either been razed, or turned into military installations, and not a single development program has ever been launched there, with either national or external backing.

Maggott and Wol Wol said that the rigors to which southern Sudanese have been subjected by their northern Arab rulers have cemented resistance among the great majority of the 4 million Africans of the south, despite the divergences that exist.

Wol Wol, who heads the active resistance in the south, Anya-Anyas, said that a few years ago only guerilla tactics could be used and active fighters had to find refuge outside the towns, but that today sympathy for them has grown along with their numbers.

They are now able to find shelter in various communities and to fight back as attacks are made, he said. Additional weapons have been acquired from successful sorties against Arab outposts, and some 400 Arab troops have been killed in the past few months.

Maggott, who is a Catholic, recalled that all foreign clergymen had been expelled from the Sudan in 1964. Native clergy serving the 750,000 Christians in the south

have in many cases been terrorized in the past, he said. Both Christians and non-Christians have developed a greater unity in their will to resist the northerners, Maggott said.

Outside the United Nations enclave, the visitors have been given opportunities they have so far been denied inside.

They have told their story on television and radio programs; have spoken to a number of organizations in the New York area, and, before leaving in late December, will have addressed audiences in Minnesota, Ohio, New Hampshire and other parts of the country.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
30 December 1970

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Charles Bartlett

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# A war the world ignores

WASHINGTON — The war which the world ignores — the Arab-black, north-south struggle in the Sudan — is growing nastier and bloodier without any prospect that civilized men will intercede.

This is the sad finding by two black Sudanese emissaries, Lawrence Wol and F. B. Maggott, who have beseeched Americans and United Nations officials during two months of travel to show concern for the fate of 4 million Sudanese southerners who are being exterminated by their Arab countrymen.

This is a civil war in which American blacks might be expected to rise to the support of a persecuted, Negro minority. "But it is hard," Wol Wol says, "for black Americans to take up our cause because most of them don't know what is going on. Also most of them are so pro-Arab regarding the Middle East, that they are unaware that a persecuted people like the Arabs can also be persecutors."

The two men have elicited some sympathy and help from major church groups, but they have not so far managed to dent the UN's reluctance to get involved in another African civil war.



BARTLETT

THE STATE DEPARTMENT is cautiously interested because the Sudan is plainly a key to the Russian hopes of penetrating Africa. The Kremlin's backing for the new Socialist government in Khartoum is wholehearted. Soviet advisers in mufti are spotted through the southern provinces to direct the use of Soviet weapons against the black guerrillas.

The struggle is so one-sided that it is kept alive only by the biblical bitterness which the Sudanese blacks feel towards the Arabs. The White Nile is a weak bond between these people and the Egyptianized Moslems in the north. They fear the covetous instincts of the Egyptians and they well recall that the slave raiders in the last century were from Khartoum.

They have been repeatedly betrayed in the political dealings of the past 25 years. The British ruled the Sudan by encouraging black separatism until 1946, when they suddenly and cynically decided to appease the Egyptians who wanted a unified Sudan so that eventually they might control the whole package.

THE BLACKS' GRIEF has deepened since the Sudan won independence in 1956. A succession of military governments has tried to quash their rebellious spirit and the claim, perhaps exaggerated, is that one million of them have been killed. The new officials in Khartoum, who first talked of autonomy for the three southern provinces, have settled on a strategy of extermination with the help of Soviet helicopters.

In circumstances in which the UN feels impotent to protect human rights and the United States is too busy to intervene, there may be no alternative to a prolonged civil struggle.

5 January 1971

## 2 Sudanese Rebels, Charging Genocide, Seek Help at U.N.

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

Two representatives of a black Sudanese liberation movement charged here yesterday that the Arab-led Government of Sudan was using Egyptian and Libyan troops as well as Soviet planes in the 16-year conflict that has pitted Christian and pagan blacks of the South against Moslems of the north.

In what they described as an overt appeal to world public opinion, the two men described the policies carried out by the national Government in Khartoum "as genocide against the four million blacks of the Southern Sudan."

"We call upon the nations of the free world to express their indignation at what is happening and to bring pressure to bear on the nations that supply armaments to Khartoum," said Laurence Wol Wol, a Sorbonne graduate who, as a member of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front, has presented a petition to the United Nations calling for observer teams to investigate his charges of genocide.

The other spokesman, Frederick B. Maggott who identified himself as a colonel of Anya'nya, the guerrilla army of the south, said that 25 Soviet-built aircraft were being used in bombardments of the southern provinces and that Libyans and Egyptians were among the 25,000 troops fighting the rebels in the south.

### Many Killings Charged

He said that in the last eight years some 250,000 black Sudanese had been shot to death and 250,000 had died of hunger.

The petition presented to the United Nations by the two men details allegations of atrocities. Edward Lawson, who is in charge of dealing with such communications at the United Nations, explained that normal procedure calls for the statement to be summarized and circulated confidentially at the next meeting of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. But under resolutions of the Economic and Social Council, he said, the Commission "has no power to take any action."

For its part, the Khartoum Government has accused outside forces of stirring rebellion and secession. "They stirred up civil wars in the Congo and Nigeria and they are trying to play the same evil game in the Sudan," said Premier Gaafar al-Nimeiry in a recent interview in Khartoum.

ETHIOPIAN HERALD, Addis Ababa  
5 January 1971

## Leaders Tell Press

# Libya, UAR Planes Bomb Sudanese Guerrilla Forces

TEL AVIV, Monday, (Reuter). — Egyptian and Libyan air force planes are bombing guerrilla forces in Southern Sudan, according to two guerrillas in an interview with Israel army radio.

The interview, recorded in London, three provinces in Southern Sudan, they was broadcast here last night. added.

The two spoke of increased Egyptian involvement in areas where local black tribesmen are opposed to the Moslem authorities in Khartoum.

The two guerrilla leaders — Median Digran and Adam Noual — charged Egypt with a great part in war.

They said Egyptian and some Libyan planes based near the Sudanese capital were raiding guerrilla camps. Egyptian officers controlled the Sudanese military camps. Egyptian officers controlled the Sudanese military academy, they added.

The two leaders said the war in Sudan entered a new phase in July last year when main guerrilla groups joined forces. These forces now controlled

The men charged the Central Government with atrocities against the black population of the south.

Reports by western magazines that Israeli officers are training and advising the Sudanese guerrillas have been given "a complete and flat denial" by foreign ministry officials here.



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

## Sudan: Russia's Hidden War

DEEP IN THE HILLY, high-grass country of southern Sudan, Soviet military technicians, pilots, and a growing arsenal of weapons are fighting a bloody counterinsurgency war against African tribes which has moved imperial Russian power halfway down the African continent.

This hidden war, virtually unnoticed in the West, is the latest sign of deepening Soviet penetration into the Arab states of North Africa. The Sudanese government of Gaafar al-Nimeiry, an Arab militia officer before he became Prime Minister, is making increasing use of Soviet anti-insurgency tactics, weapons, and manpower in its civil war against Arab-hating Negro nationalists in the three southern provinces of the Sudan.

The Soviet Union, according to well-informed African sources, also has started building a new SAM-2 anti-aircraft missile net—this one not along the Suez Canal but near Port Sudan on the Red Sea, several hundred miles south of the main Arab-Israeli conflict.

THE LOW-CALIBER warfare in southern Sudan is a microcosm of the main Middle East theater of operations far to the north. Thus, while Soviet technicians and weapons assist the Nimeiry government, the black tribes rebelling against Arab rule are getting similar though skimpier assistance from Israeli technicians and equipment. An average of one plane load of Israeli supplies arrives from the north each week.

The Israeli game is obvious: To encourage the black revolution against the Sudanese government and thus drain off both Soviet and Sudanese military strength from the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Military experts here have been watching the increasing Soviet involvement in the Sudan with intense interest and anxiety. With casualties in the thousands (innocent civilians as well as indigenous black tribesmen fighting the Soviet-backed forces of the central government), Moscow has now supplied two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers, half a dozen AN-24s equipped with

rockets, late-model Mig-21 fighters, helicopters, artillery, and light tanks.

But the resilience of southern Negro tribes who have hated their northern Arab conquerors for generations is proving as difficult for Nimeiry and the Russians as the Vietcong insurgency has been for Saigon and the United States.

SEVERAL WEEKS ago, operating from their base area near the town of Juba, the Russians committed 100 advisors to a government offensive against the insurgents' major base along Sudan's southern border. Soviet pilots (and some Egyptians) bombed, strafed, and finally captured an airstrip—but later abandoned it. In that single action, there were nearly 1,000 casualties, mostly civilians killed in artillery and air bombardments.

What makes this hidden but bloody Soviet-backed

civil war so fascinating to the United States is what it tells about Soviet political designs on coastal East Africa from the northern tip of the Suez Canal to Sudan.

Using the Arab-Israeli dispute as its stepping stone to imperial power south and east of the Mediterranean, Moscow shows it is willing to risk resources and prestige in a local civil war for its paramount goal: Political control of East Africa and a solid foothold in the Indian Ocean.

Nor is Moscow worried about political inconsistencies in prying deep into the Arab states of Africa and the Middle East. In the Yemen civil war ten years ago, it fought on the side of left-wing nationalists. In Egypt, it rides the horse of anti-Israeli passions. In the Sudan, it is battling against a nationalist movement and for the central government in Khartoum.

But the goal in each case is the same: Soviet power and influence in the Middle East, East Africa, and the Indian Ocean.

WASHINGTON POST  
12 January 1970

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## Sudan: Europe's Hidden War—a Reply to Evans and Novak

"Sudan: Russia's Hidden War," (Jan. 1) by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, provokes a response because of two reasons: its style and substance. The article was peppered with phrases like "African tribes," "Negro tribes," "black tribes," "Arab-hating Negro nationalists," etc. This deliberate employment of these terms is a crude manifestation, detestable, institutionalized, European anti-Africanism. The golden age for laissez-faire European utilization of these derogatives at the expense of Africans is no more. Evans and Novak should start using the correct terms: "African peoples," "African nationalists," "African ethnic or linguistic groups"—terms that are academically valid, and politically acceptable to, and used by, Africans the world over. Such an acknowledgment does not involve loving Africans. It is just a simple, responsible journalistic conduct necessary for the improvement of race relations. The article, except in "Arab-hating Negro nationalists," except in

the writers' imaginations, it is a pack of lies. The conflict was European instigated, and they now exploit it for evil purposes. Not all conflicts arise from hatred, and the Sudanese is such one.

There are several large holes in the gentlemen's article. First, it is incorrect for them to state that the Sudanese civil war is a "hidden war, virtually unknown in the west." Euro-American elite knew the British policy in the area until 1956, when the Provisional African Administrative State of Sudan was created, and the armed revolt started. But the Euro-American masses were either totally kept ignorant of it, or mis-educated about it. Whatever information reached them was too sketchy and distorted.

Second, the exposure of growing Soviet "arsenal of weapons" in the Sudan—"2 squadrons of U-16 medium bombers, 6 AN-24s equipped with rockets, late model Mig-21 fighters, helicopters, artillery, and light tanks" and approximately "100 advisers" is

commendable. However, the "well-informed African sources" should have enlightened us, through our columnists, about the exact extent of Israeli and Euro-American involvement in the Sudan as well, instead of generalizing "... an average of one plane load of Israeli supplies ... each week." It is an open secret (and it seems funny that Messrs. Evans and Novak either are ignorant of it, or ignored it) that several Israeli and other European "military advisers" in the Anyanya Armed Forces have been killed in encounters with the Sudanese forces. Money and military hardware have been reaching the Southern Provinces from the very areas where this "hidden war" is supposedly "virtually unnoticed."

Third, while it is true that Israeli involvement encourages "The black revolution against the Sudanese government and thus drains off both Soviet and Sudanese military strength from the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict," it is not the whole story. Israel, a garrison state, cannot, by herself, achieve

this desired objective due to her pressing economic and political needs. It is the help from Euro-American countries. Furthermore, by aiding the southerners and intensifying the civil war, Israel hopes to break continental solidarity, splitting it into two hostile camps: "Black Africa" against "Arab Africa." It is aimed at breaking up the PAAS of Sudan into two PAASs: one pro-African, the other, pro-western. It is the same conspiracy tried in the Congo and Nigeria and, now in Chad and Ethiopia. In each case, the African is incidental to the European interests.

Fourth, to state that the Sudanese strife is a "bloody Soviet-backed civil war" gives the impression that it was manufactured by the Czar in Moscow. No, history refutes this. It has lasted 15 years, taken 1,035,000 southern Sudanese lives, and several hundreds of northerners. Today, nearly 500,000 refugees from these provinces—Bahr el Ghazal, Equator and Upper Nile—lead destitute lives in the neighbouring PAAS, of Chad, Centrafrique, Congo-Kinshasa, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. This haloblastic tragedy is a direct result of 19th European imperialist partitioning policies in Africa in general, and the British "Cape-to-Cairo" grand design in par-

ticularly in the Sudan. The policies and tactics in the Sudan produced the socio-political ulcers whose curative prescriptions are still unavailable. The infiltration into the southern provinces by the sententious, hypocritical Christian, self-styled missionaries to spread Christianity and western civilization added more fuel: confrontation between the followers of Christ and those of Mohammed.

Fifth, the Soviet politico-military ambitions from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean are pretty obvious. But to the Africans, they are as dangerous as Euro-American military establishments in and around Africa: the U.S.A in Morocco, Ethiopia, Congo-Kinshasa, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; the British in the Gulf of Aden, East Africa, Rhodesia, South Africa and the Indian Ocean; the French within, and around, Africa; Portugal (backed by NATO) in occupied African territories. To Evans and Novak, Africa is there for control; either the west maintains its domination (which is, apparently, good) or the Russians must grab it (which is, also, apparently, bad). The Africans are, politically, invisible.

Lastly, the Evans-Novak essay was

highly offensive to the African community. And whereas its substance insulted the intelligence of those who are knowledgeable in the area, it also misinforms (and consequently miseducates) the innocent readers. The Vietnam and Middle East wars are convincing cases in which the facts were either withheld from the masses, or distorted in order to achieve certain questionable goals. Sudan should not be the third.

ODEYO OWITI AYAGA,

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Afro-Asian Institute, Temple University, African Studies Program and Political Science Department, Philadelphia, Howard University.

WASHINGTON POST  
16 February 1971

## On "Sudan's Hidden War: European or Russian?"

I have just read the letter, "Sudan's Hidden War: European or Russian?" of Mr. Odeyo Owiti Ayaga (Jan. 12). As a party to the Afro-Arab conflict in the Sudan, and as a member of the Southern Sudan delegation to the recently closed U.N. General Assembly, I feel obliged to comment.

From 1955 to date, Northerners have slaughtered and caused death to over one million Africans in South Sudan. They have chased away over 500,000 people from their homes into the neighbouring states or into the forests and mountains of South Sudan. Yet, nobody, and no African in particular, has offered assistance to the South, or voiced out indignation. Instead, Mr. Ayaga, while claiming to write for Africa, is objecting to people who have dared to draw world attention to inhumanity and genocide in South Sudan.

Another objection concerns Mr. Ayaga's rather lighthearted reference to Soviet involvement in the conflict. The growing "Soviet arsenal of weapons in the Sudan—2 squadrons of U-16 medium bombers, 6 AN 24s equipped with rockets, late model Mig 21 fighters, helicopters, artillery and light tanks," together with over "100 advisors," is heavy enough to arouse the suspicion of any serious critic, particularly when such armament is supplied to a government that is involved in waging a war of destruction against armless racial groups of its supposed "national community." No! Instead, Mr. Ayaga wants to divert world attention to imaginary Israeli assistance to South Sudan. Hence, his most outrageous claim that "it is an open secret that several Israeli and European military advisors in the Anyanya

Armed Forces have been killed in encounters with the Sudanese forces." Where and when?

Mr. Ayaga's assertion that Israel is encouraging the black revolution to create two "hostile groups" in Africa with one "pro-European" and the other "pro-Africa," is difficult to comprehend. The Arab role during the slave trade did earn them hostility in Africa. And although the European colonisation brought slavery to an end, feelings of hatred against the Arabs are still manifest in many parts of Africa today, as they are against the Europeans who took slaves across the Atlantic. This is not to preach racialism. But it should be pointed out that the policies and treatment of the Africans of South Sudan by the Arab-dominated governments in Khartoum is similar to that during the slave period.

Mr. Ayaga's one-sided attack on Christianity and christian missionaries as an important element in the Afro-Arab confrontation, is equally objectionable. In the first place, he uses severe language on Christianity while remaining impervious on Islam, not even recognising the unrealistic policy pursued by successive Arab governments in Khartoum to impose Islam on the four million Africans of South Sudan. From 1957 to this very day, a State Department for Religious Affairs (Islam) has been spending public money to build mosques and koranic institutions in the South and other parts of the Sudan where Islam had no influence. This went along side with the destruction of

christian churches, institutions, hospitals, maternities, and above all, the killing of African clergymen.

In the second place, and more important, in raising the conflict to be one "between the followers of Christ and those of Mohammed," Mr. Ayaga has deliberately sacrificed African religions (to which nearly three-fourths of the Southern population belong) together with African culture.

LAWRENCE WOL WOL.

Bordeaux, France.

TORONTO Approved For Release 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300130001-9  
 4 January 1971

# Sudanese say 500,000 dead in secret war

By STAN FISCHLER  
 Special to The Star

NEW YORK — A virtually unheard-of 15-year-old civil war between South Sudanese blacks and North Sudanese Arabs has left more than 500,000 dead, according to representatives of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front.

Two members of the front, who will visit Toronto today, charged in an exclusive interview with The Star that Soviet-supported Arab-backed by the government of Gaafar Al-Nimeiry were systematically exterminating black Africans in Southern Sudan.

"The Arabs, who have the political and economic power, are being supported with arms from Russia," said Sudanese Col. Frederick B. Maggott at his Executive Hotel suite here. "They also are getting aid from the Egyptians, Libyans and a number of East European countries, particularly East Germany."

Maggott, 35, and his colleague, 33-year-old Wol Wol assert that Soviet "advisers" have been actively training northern forces opposed to the Southern Sudanese.

"Russia had given 18 MiG planes to them," said Maggott, "and 12 helicopters. These are being used against our people who have no planes. Most of our weapons are taken from the enemy."

African sources in Washington confirm that Moscow has now supplied two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers, half a dozen AN-24S equipped with rockets, late-model MiG-21 fighters, helicopters, artillery and light tanks to Nimeiry.

The Sudan, with a population of about 15 million, covers 967,275 square miles, making it the biggest country in Africa. It is bounded by Egypt on the north, the Red Sea and Ethiopia on the east, Kenya, Uganda and Congo on the south and the Central African Republic, Chad and Libya on the west.

The pair spoke calmly and in articulate English. Wol Wol denied that the front was receiving help from Israel, but said the Sudanese are in great need of help.

(Well-informed African sources in Washington say an average of one plane load of Israeli supplies a week. The sources say Tel Aviv hopes the supplies will strengthen the south sufficiently to draw away Russian equipment and "advisers" from Egypt to prop up Nimeiry.)

## Conditions getting worse

"Conditions are getting worse all the time," Wol Wol explained. "A lot of bombing has been carried out by Egyptian pilots flying Russian MiGs. They have bombed civilians in every village. They don't even look for military centres—they simply bomb any place where there are Southern Sudanese."

In addition to the bloodshed, the Southern Sudanese have been victimized by a scorched-earth policy carved out by the Arabs, according to Maggott.

"Crops are being destroyed," he declared, "and whole areas are being made desolate, causing thousands of people to flee the country. Juba, our largest city, has gone from 200,000 people to 50,000 in the past few years."

The South Sudan delegates yesterday presented a formal petition-letter to Dr. Edvard Hambro, president of the United Nations General Assembly, in which they detailed atrocities allegedly committed against the Africans of South Sudan.

Maggott charged the Nimeiry government with engaging in a genocidal campaign resulting in the death of more than 500,000 South Sudanese killed and an estimated 500,000 dying from starvation or disease resulting from the fighting.

## Few people aware of it

"We feel this terrible war has gone unnoticed," said Wol Wol, "and that few people outside the Sudan are aware of the problem."

He cited censorship on the part of the ruling Arab government as the reason for the absence of world interest in the Sudan. "No foreign journalists are permitted in South Sudan," said Maggott. "Therefore no information leaks out."

The front aims to bring about a plebiscite in Southern Sudan, which now is part of the Unitary Republic of Sudan.

"Our ultimate objective is to give our people the right to determine their own future," said Maggott. "At first we believed in a federal union. Then the north began fighting the south with brute force so we now believe in total independence. We Africans have to be given the right to determine our own future."

The Southern Sudan began fighting in 1955. The front was organized in 1963 "to protect people from killing and to protect their property." The group charged that the "inhuman attacks on South Sudanese" increased each year and that 1,400 people were killed at Juba on July 8, 1965.

At first the front's "army" fought with primitive weapons such as bows and arrows and machetes.

"You couldn't even call it an army," Wol Wol said. "At that time there were small groups fighting in different areas. Now we have about 5,000 active and armed people but more than that are involved."

# Africa's forgotten wars grind

By Frederic Hunter  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

ON

Nairobi, Kenya

Three forgotten wars rage in Africa. They enflame Chad, Ethiopia, and southern Sudan. They continue unnoticed by the outside world, pushed from thought by Africans.

Although these conflicts are strikingly similar to their own anticolonial struggles, African leaders do not regard them as threats to independent black African interests. Some leaders—with convenient simplification—consider the three insurgencies as fomented by Africa's imperialist enemies. But the conflicts are more complicated than that.

Chad, Sudan, and Ethiopia occupy a common chunk of Africa, that intermediate zone between regions populated by Semites and those peopled by blacks. The three forgotten wars resemble each other in that they involve ethnic struggle, ethnic self-realization. They spring from the desire of ethnic groups, which consider themselves oppressed, to achieve independence, autonomy, or at least a fairer share of nationhood.

## Revolt dates from 1955

The fighting in Sudan pits Arabs and Arabized peoples of the north, who control the central government, against blacks of the south. These blacks inhabit a region so remote that education, political self-awareness, and contacts with the outside world came too late for them to share equally in the decolonization, or rescrambling, of Africa.

The war started in 1955. Sudan, standing on the very threshold of independence, already had entered a transitional period of self-government. Northern politicians had outmaneuvered a British attempt to protect the South's special interests. At this point southerners realized that northerners would dominate them. Their resentment broke into open revolt.

Sporadic warfare has continued ever since. It takes place in flat, marshy country of tall elephant grass, sparsely populated by seminomadic cattle-tenders and subsistence farmers. It stems largely from three factors: a British colonial policy for the south which first fostered separate development, then integration with the north, and accomplished neither; a religiocultural problem; and a tendency by successive

northern governments to rely on military means to solve the southern question.

The fighting in southern Sudan shows no signs of abating. In fact, the Anyanya, a guerrilla force organized in 1963 and rejuvenated in the last eight months, recently has claimed a series of successful attacks against government outposts. Fatalities of this war may number 1.5 million.

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) insurgency, in northern Ethiopia, is a smaller-scale affair. It began eight years ago when Ethiopia absorbed the then-federated Eritrea into a unified imperial state.

## Religious differences involved

Religious differences play an important role in this conflict. Eritrean Muslims resent their forced integration into the world's oldest Christian state. The ELF's external sources of support underline the importance of this aspect of the conflict. The organization is headquartered in Damascus; it is said to receive significant aid from Libya, Egypt, and other Arab states. Its partisans maintain sanctuaries across the borders in Sudan.

But religion is not the only source of conflict. Many Eritrean Christians dislike the imposition of Amharic tribal culture and rule from Addis Ababa. They kick against their region's absorption into a less-developed state. They resent feudal and imperial concepts of government, embodied by Emperor Haile Selassie — based on assumptions of power delegated by God rather than from the people to their representatives.

Analysts have difficulty estimating ELF strength. The traditional existence of Eritrean shifita (bandit) groups compounds the problem. But bandits did not stage the ambush-assassination Nov. 21 of Maj. Gen. Teshome Erghetu, commander of the Third Army Division. An experienced observer, just returned from Eritrea, claims that the ambush involved espionage, skillful strategy, and tactical know-how.

Only four hours elapsed between General Erghetu's decision to travel outside of Asmara, the Eritrean capital, and the ambush. Within that time the ELF got word of his route and his position in the convoy, set up the ambush, and readied diversionary tactics as well.

As a result of the ambush, the Addis Ababa government has placed two-thirds of Eritrea under a state of emergency. In addition, two-thirds of the national Army, aided by American military advisers, is reported stationed in the region.

Chad's insurgency began about five years ago. The National Liberation Front, Front linat, sprang to life essentially as a reaction to tactics by which President Tombalbye, a member of the black Sara tribe of the south and central regions of the large, parched country, forced the Arabized peoples of the north and east out of his government and out of government jobs.

## French role unpopular

For the past two years French Legionnaires have sought to quell the insurgency and maintain the Tombalbye government in power. Meanwhile, French civilians have attempted to overhaul Chad's administrative system and open opportunities for the disaffected Arabized peoples. This double effort has failed to achieve notable successes so far.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
9 January 1971

# Sudan 'southern question' clings

By Frederic Hunter  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya

Maj. Gen Jaafar Muhammad al-Nimeri and a group of fellow officers and socialists have defended their May, 1969, coup partially on the failure of civilian politicians to solve the problem of armed insurgency in southern Sudan.

General Nimeri promised action. He declared that his government was "determined to arrive at a lasting solution" to the southern question.

But 19 months after the coup the main action appears to be an increase in the fighting which already has taken an estimated 1.5 million lives. Members of the Anyanya guerrilla organization contend that the Nimeri government recently has embarked on a "war of extermination" against the region's black peoples.

The southern question looks as insoluble as ever.

The Nimeri government has enunciated policies which appear to improve settlement prospects. It has recognized the existence of the southern problem, the cultural and historic differences between the regions, and the right of southerners to develop their separate cultures and traditions. It has promised them regional self-government.

## Policies implemented

It has taken concrete actions to implement these policies. It has established a Ministry of Southern Affairs, headed by a southerner. It extended previously offered amnesties. It has established a special development budget for the south; it has set up economic planning and coordinating committees. It has extended higher education and appointed southerners to the councils of the three southern provinces.

Perhaps most importantly, it has begun to recruit southerners into the national security forces. A year ago, for instance, it enrolled 17 southern officer cadets in the Military College; in the previous decade only 10 southerners had entered the college.

If this is the case, why has so little progress been made toward solving the southern question?

There are a variety of reasons.

First is the sticky question of what kind of regional autonomy would be granted to the south.

Two conditions emerge from government statements. First, the autonomous southern government must be socialist. Second, southern political and economic life must be controlled through a single organization, a "demo-

cratic movement" which would form "part of the revolutionary structure of the north." This concept of self-government clearly falls short of what most people regard as political autonomy.

Moreover, the government has not yet clearly detailed the specifics of its autonomy offer. Is there to be one southern regional government, for instance, or three autonomous provincial councils? The three-councils concept, which previous northern governments have backed, appears to southerners to work on the divide-and-rule principle.

Another reason for lack of progress on the southern question is that Khartoum plainly intends to impose, rather than negotiate, a settlement. It has made at least one serious effort to inform dissidents about its southern policy; Abel Alier, Minister of Supply and Internal Trade, spoke early in 1970 about regional autonomy to an audience at Makerere University College in Kampala, Uganda, a city where many dissident Sudanese leaders live. But the Numeiry government has never suggested negotiations.

## Risks involved

This failure is understandable. Negotiations would involve considerable risks for the government. They would legitimize southern spokesmen not of the government's choosing. They would involve increased concessions to the south.

The government could hardly enter negotiations with stiffer offers than it has already made; meaningful negotiations would require some erosion of those positions.

Most importantly, negotiations would provide southern dissidents with a platform from which to influence world opinion. Anyanya spokesmen say their organization would prefer negotiations held outside Sudan, chaired by a neutral and attended by observers from other African states, the United Nations, and charitable organizations. Some outside observers would almost certainly attend such negotiations due to a precedent set at negotiations held at Juba in 1965.

The initial Anyanya negotiating position would probably seek independence for the south, a demand not negotiable by Khartoum. In any case, successful settlement talks would involve important compromises on both sides.

Anyanya spokesmen say they have photographic evidence of atrocities committed by northern Sudanese troops against the southern population. At settlement talks Anyanya negotiators would almost certainly present this evidence to outside observers and the press.

Such a move, extremely damaging to the Nimeri government, so far has not

has largely succeeded in isolating the Anyanya insurgency from the press notice its estimated fatalities would suggest it deserves.

But if reluctance to enter negotiations is understandable, it also is impractical. Apart from a war of attrition or "extermination," there probably is no other means—except negotiations—to get Anyanya guerrillas to lay down their arms.

One may question whether or not the northerners now trying to solve the southern question actually possess the sensitivity, political skill, and intellectual equipment to achieve a settlement. The rhetoric of members of the Revolutionary Command Council does not inspire much confidence in this regard.

## Political accent

A Sudan official stresses that General Nimeri, having fought in the south, understands the necessity of a political, rather than a military, solution. But recent Sudan history suggests that the military mentality does not easily adapt to the demands of political settlements.

In addition, General Nimeri's interest in Arab socialist unity and the Arab cause in the Middle East raises questions about the priority which the southern problem enjoys at the highest levels of the Khartoum government.

It also seems clear that Joseph Garang, the Minister of Southern Affairs, commands little support in the South. He is said to have stood for election in Wau, the capital of Equatorial-Ghazal province, three times and lost his candidacy deposit on each occasion. Moreover, he is a Marxist, a fact which causes distrust among the ten percent of the southern population which espouses Christianity.

Another stumbling block on the way toward solution of the insurgency is Sudanese political instability. During their 15 years of national independence the Northern Sudanese have not proved adept at governing themselves. They have experienced five different political regimes and two military coups. Thus, considerable doubt surrounds the capacity of any specific government to remain in power long enough to initiate and affect a solution to southern problems.

The Nimeri government's case illustrates this instability. In 19 months of rule it has suffered two major attempts to topple it, one from the right, the other from the left. Moreover, General Nimeri's recent agreement to enter a union with Egypt and Libya has initiated a profound restructuring of the Sudanese state. This restructuring has caused the fears of Arab and Muslim domination.

The articulation of interests within Sudan politics also complicates efforts to achieve a solution. ~~Approved For Release~~ 1999/09/02 : CIA-RDP79-01194A000300130001-9  
rejects the idea of Muslim domination, it offers little room for real southern political autonomy.

CPYRGHT

WASHINGTON POST, Washington  
8 January 1971

Joseph Alsop

## Russian Imperialism

A HISTORIC TURNING point occurred about a fortnight ago in Cairo. The State Department's representative in the Egyptian capital, Donald Bergus, was received by Egypt's new president, Anwar Al Sadat. On instruction, Bergus asked President Sadat about the new naval base the Soviets are building at Mersa Matruh.

The former Egyptian line, and the former Soviet line as well, was always to pooh-pooh, to minimize, indeed to lie about the Soviet military presence in Egypt. But this time, Sadat was reasonably forthright. The Soviets, he said, had done so much for his country that Egypt could not deny them any facilities they required.

In such cases, and especially with such people, the transition from clandestinity and untruth to openness and frankness is always of very great importance. It means that a new situation, once regarded as temporary and potentially reversible, has come to be regarded as permanent and irreversible. And in this case, it means that the new Soviet imperialism has entered a quite novel phase.

The Soviet threat to Israel, only deferred by the talks that have now opened is of course part of the pattern of this new Soviet imperialism. Recently, for instance, the chief Soviet partisan in the Egyptian junta, went to Moscow to discuss more generous military aid for Egypt. In a subsequent report to his government, Ali Sabry boasted of bringing home the bacon in a big way. The most interesting published passage in his official report was the following:

"The Soviet leaders expounded at length their assessment of the conflict in the Middle East, and its place in the world strategy of the Soviet Union."

HENCE IT IS time to give the widely ignored evidence for the quite new Soviet imperialism, which is altogether different from anything seen in the past. Since the end of the Second World War, with a single exception, the Soviets have never before sought to control territory or to obtain bases beyond the borders of their existing empire.

The exception, of course, was the attempt to emplace missiles in Cuba. Otherwise, where they have made grabs, the places grabbed for have always been territory already occupied by Soviet troops. Examples were Stalin's attempt to hang onto the Iranian province of Azerbaijan; and the two grabs for Berlin. Now, however, the rules have changed radically.

The most important signs of the change were the beginnings of construction, about six months ago, of new naval bases that will unquestionably be under exclusive Soviet control. One is the big base Bergus asked about, at the fine harbor of Mersa Matruh in the desert to the west of the Nile Delta. The other full-scale base being built is on the Socotra Islands, at the mouth of the Red Sea.

But these bases, on the standard old imperial pattern, are only the beginning of the story. On the western shore of the Red Sea, the Soviet military presence in Egypt, including Russian

troops in an active combat role, is of course well known.

IN ADDITION, however, the Soviets have moved into the Sudan in a big way, taking advantage of the rebellion of the unhappy Nilotic blacks against their Arab masters in Khartoum. Besides weapons, there are even Soviet military advisers with the Sudanese units attacking the rebels. Then too, the Soviets have an important military presence in Somaliland, just to the south of the Sudan.

On the Red Sea's eastern shore, moreover, the Soviet military role and presence is again very conspicuous in the Yemen, and also in the new state of South Yemen that was formed after the British evacuated Aden. Here, they have some competition from the Chinese Communists. But it is not effective, as indicated by the Southern Yemen's grant of the base on the Socotra Islands to the Soviets.

Besides the Mediterranean ports of Egypt and Syria, the evergrowing Soviet Navy has further acquired the right to use the Red Sea ports of all the countries above named, plus

Mogadishio in somaliland. Mrs. Bandanaraike's success in Ceylon has also opened the great base of the Trincomalee to the Soviets; and they have secured "landing and fuelling rights" on the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

Finally, all indications to date suggest that the Soviets are using their positions in Southern Yemen, in order to sponsor and to support a guerrilla movement

in the neighboring Sultanate of Yemen. If successful, this effort will take them right around the corner of the Persian Gulf itself. In all this, the Soviet goal of ultimate control of the Middle East is only too clear. Only sleepwalkers can doubt it.

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ELEFTHEROS KOSMOS, Athens  
10 January 1971

# MIG WITH RUSSIAN PILOTS AGAINST GUERRILLAS IN SUDAN

## Moscow Aids Sudanese Government

London 9. - Information from Khartoum indicates that towards the end of last year the Soviet Union substantially increased its military aid to the Sudanese government in its struggle against the large guerrilla organization "Anya-Nya" of South Sudan.

From the beginning of the offensive by government forces towards the end of last September, which is apparently still continuing, Soviet fighters and bombers have been attacking guerrilla bases with conventional bombs and napalm, while Soviet advisors have been assigned to units of the government army.

Towards the end of October, 27 more Soviet bombers were delivered to Khartoum, according to information of the London "Evening Standard", and "about 60 MIG-21 Soviet planes, mostly operated by Soviets, are stationed in the city of Juba", the capital of the southernmost Sudanese province of Equatoria.

On 9 November the Sudanese Defense Minister General Halid Hasan Abbas announced that government forces had seized four guerrilla bases and two airfields where guerrilla planes brought arms, medicines and food, and a great quantity of military materiel including anti-aircraft artillery, mines, mortars and automatic weapons. General Abbas asserted that his forces had "broken the backbone of the guerrillas". Yet later the Sudanese government minister responsible for South Sudan, Joseph Garang, in an article published in a local paper, said that the war was being continuously extended.

Now according to new information, helicopters operated by Soviet pilots are carrying out combat flights firing rockets and bombs against the guerrilla forces.

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«Μίγκ»  
μέ Ρώσους  
πιλότους κατά  
τών ανταρτών  
εις τό Σουδάν

## Η ΜΟΙΧΑ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΟΥΔΑΝΙΚΗ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΝ

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τικά καταδιωκτικά και βομβαρδιστι-  
κά αεροπλάνα πλήττουν τάς βάσεις  
τών ανταρτών, μέ βόμβας συμβατι-  
κάς και Ναπαλμ, ενώ Σοβιετικοί σύμ-  
βουλοι έχουν ένταχθί εις τάς μονά-  
δας του κυβερνητικού στρατού.

Περί τά τέλη 'Οκτωβρίου, 27 ελ-  
σέτι σοβιετικά βομβαρδιστικά παρε-  
δόθησαν εις τό Χαρτούμ, συμφώνως  
δέ προς πληροφορίας της έφημερίδος  
«'Ηνίκ» Στάντοντα του Λονδίνου,  
τών οποίων δι' χειριστά, κατά μέγα

μέρος είναι Σοβιετικοί, σταθιεύουν  
εις την πόλιν Γζούμπα, πρωτεύου-  
σαν της νοτιωτάτης σουδανικής έπαρ-  
χίας του 'Ισημερινού.

Τήν 9ην παρελθόντος Νοεμβρίου, ό  
όπουργός 'Αμύνης του Σουδάν στρα-  
τηγός Χάλεντ Χασάν 'Αμπας, άνεκοί-  
νησεν ότι αι κυβερνητικά δυνάμεις  
έχον καταλάβει τέσσαρας ανταρτι-  
κας βάσεις και δύο αεροδρόμια, εις  
τά όποια αεροπλάνα των επαναστα-  
τών μετέφερον όπλα, φάρμακα, τρο-  
φάς και μεγάλας ποσότητας στρατιω-  
τικού όπλου, ήτοι άντιαεροπορικά πυ-  
ρράκια, νάρκες, όλμους και αυτόμα-  
τα τυφέκια. 'Ο στρατηγός 'Αμπας έ-  
σχυρίζετο τότε, ότι αι δυνάμεις του  
«ανέτρεψαν την σπονδυλικήν στήλην  
τών ανταρτών». 'Εν τούτοις, άργότε-  
ρον, ό όπουργός της σουδανικής κυ-  
βερνήσεως, ό άρμόδιος διά τό Νό-  
τιον Σουδάν, Γζόσεφ Γκάρανγκ, εις  
άρθρον του δημοσιευθέν εις τοπικήν  
έφημερίδα, ανέφερεν ότι ό πόλεμος  
συνεχώς ενετεινέτο.

«'Ηδη συμφώνως προς νέας πληρο-  
φορίας, έλικόπτερα τά όποια χειρι-  
ζονται Σοβιετικοί πιλότοι, πραγματω-  
ποιούν πολεμικάς πτήσεις, ριπτόντα  
ρυκέττας και βόμβας εναντίον των  
ανταρτικών δυνάμεων.

(15. όπηρ.)

SMITH HEMPSTONE

# Zapping Anya 'Nya in the Land That God Forgot

In that torrid equatorial December of 1957, we were visiting Basil Duke at Moyo, up against the southern border of Sudan. The rains had fallen that year and the elephant grass was sparse and sere, speckled with the yellow blossoms of the tall trees. Smoke smudged the horizon to the north; the Sudanese army was burning villages.

Duke had been British district commissioner at Yei until Sudan attained independence the previous year. At that time he had moved 90 miles south across the border into Uganda to become district commissioner at Moyo, bringing with him his library, his two Arab stallions and an entourage of Sudanese retainers. Because he had served in the southern Sudan, his compound became a gathering point for the southern Sudanese Christians and animists fleeing from the Arab soldiery.

Until the turn of the century, when the British took over Sudan, the Arabs of the north had hunted slaves for the marts of Khartoum and Medina in the marshes and grasslands of the southern Sudan. The British closed off the area, excluded the northern Arabs and left education in the hands of missionaries, primarily Catholics. And now, with the coming of independence to Sudan, the government in Khartoum, the government of the 8 million Arabic-speaking followers of Islam, was trying to impose its will on the 4 million Christian and animist southerners. There had been heavy fighting.

At Duke's house, while we watched the smoke hanging over the burning Sudanese villages, a Christian refugee approached me.

"America is a Christian country," he said. "Surely you will help us? You will not let the Arabs kill us all."

As gently as possible, I tried to explain to him why neither the United States nor anyone else was going to help his people in their struggle to be free of an alien and distrusted government. He shook his head.

"Then only God can help us," he said.

Unfortunately, God has not helped the southern Sudanese. Now, more than 13 years later, the Sudanese army is burning and killing again, this time reportedly with the help of 100 of the 500 Soviet advisers stationed in Sudan. Russian jets and helicopters are being used against rebel tribesmen, most of whom are armed with nothing more technologically advanced than spears.

There have been reports that as many as 500,000 southerners have been massacred that as many more have fled to the neighboring Congo, Ethiopia and Uganda. All such reports should be treated with extreme caution; they almost certainly are exaggerated. But there is sufficient evidence to suggest that something pretty horrible — something which may verge on genocide — is going on in southern Sudan, and nobody is doing anything about it. Least of all the militant blacks in this country, who have thrown in their lot with the radical Arabs, thus becoming the allies of those who are oppressing their own people.

There have been unconfirmed reports that the Ethiopians, who are Coptic Christians and have their own problems with a Moslem minority in Eritrea which is receiving help from the Sudanese government, is giving the rebels some assistance. The Israelis, who vehemently deny it — as, of course, they would — are said to be helping the rebels as a means of diverting Khartoum's military resources and energies from the Middle East (some of the best "Egyptian" troops, particularly among the commandos, are in fact northern Sudanese). And Arab sources maintain that Americans and West Germans also are involved.

The center of the conflict appears to be in Equatoria, Sudan's southernmost province, with fighting at a lower level taking place in neighboring Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces. The Christian-animist resistance movement, called *Anya'Nya* (the name of a deadly poison made by grinding the skull of

a cobra) controls much of the countryside, at least by night; the Sudanese army controls the towns. Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk tribesmen, who consider themselves fully clothed with a daub of clay on each proud cheekbone, necessarily fade away into the bush when confronted with an armored column; but the night belongs to them.

The people pay taxes to both sides, certainly detest the northerners and may well be afraid of the *Anya'Nya*. Malnutrition, if not real starvation, is widespread, and conditions in this land that God forgot may rival those in Biafra during the worst days of its secession.

Because almost every African country has its own minority problem, none is willing to speak up for the southern Sudanese. But somehow, for humanitarian reasons alone, the killing has to be stopped. And if the United Nations is of any use, it might show it by addressing itself to this problem.



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# Guerrillas claim gains

By Frederic Hunter

CPYRGHT

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya

Guerrilla forces have begun to make significant gains in southern Sudan, claims a veteran political activist there. Moreover, reports his source, the gains have come in the face of the most determined military pressure yet mounted by the Khartoum government during the little-known 15-year war.

These claims are made by Ateny Mudrateny Pajokdit, a member of the Dinka tribe, interviewed here. Mr. Pajokdit has actively opposed Arab domination of the black peoples of southern Sudan for over a decade, both in directing political activities and in actual guerrilla fighting.

The government of Maj. Gen. Jaafar al-Nimeri, which seized power in May, 1969, has undertaken "a war of extermination" throughout the three provinces of the south, declares Mr. Pajokdit. Northern military forces implement the policy in two ways: through indiscriminate bombing and through the liquidation of entire village communities.

Why the Nimeri government would embark on an "extermination" policy—if indeed it has—is not clear. The ruling Revolutionary Command Council prides itself on its forthright analysis of and approach to the southern problem; it has made important conciliatory gestures toward southern interests.

From the southern viewpoint these acts leave much to be desired, however, and the northern rulers do not yet accept the need for a negotiated settlement of grievances. Increased government military action may signal the failure of the Nimeri southern policy to make significant strides in the 19 months since the coup.

## Massacres described

Mr. Pajokdit claims that Arab soldiers have massacred entire villages or segments of their populations in at least 212 cases. He cites three specific examples.

- In Bahr-el-Ghazal province Arab troops machine-gunned all inhabitants of a Dinka village called Marial Aguog, he claims. The village, which had an estimated population of 700, lay close to Gogrial, where Mr. Pajokdit attended primary school.

- A similar massacre—of an estimated 2,000 people—reportedly took place in villages surrounding the police post of Ulang, nine miles south of Nasir, in Upper Nile Province. After liquidating villagers, government forces had their cattle driven overland to the provincial capital Malakal; from there they were shipped upriver to northern Sudan, says Mr. Pajokdit.

- At the beginning of November at Morta, a village near Kajo-Kaji in Equatoria Province, northern soldiers killed about 800 men of the village, and maimed young women, according to this source.

In addition to massacres of villagers, Mr. Pajokdit states, indiscriminate bombing raids have occurred throughout the south since Sept. 15. The raids seek especially to destroy guerrilla headquarters; they also strike villages and even cattle, says this opposition leader.

## Starvation policy seen

Northern troops slaughter or remove cattle to the north in order to impoverish the southerners, declares Mr. Pajokdit. They hope to starve out guerrilla forces and the general population which supports them. This strategy may also intend to demoralize the southerners. The way of life—even the world view—of many of the region's tribes is closely bound up in their cattle.

In spite of this determined pressure, Mr. Pajokdit states that southern Sudanese guerrilla forces, known as the Anyanya, are making steady progress against their Arab opponents. They have shot down 14 planes during low-flying bombing raids over Anyanya camps, he claims.

He also states that Anyanya recently overran and for four days held the military garrison at Burmath. There they seized 45 British, Chinese, and Russian automatic weapons. In addition, they made attacks against posts at Akobo, Nasir, and Ulang and wiped out two Arab platoons at Kier.

These attacks appear to illustrate the effectiveness of changes brought about by a reorganization of Anyanya forces within the last eight months. These forces are now under the leadership of Emidio Tafeng, a former soldier in the northern army.

## Raids pressed home

The raids against northern garrisons are important not only as demonstrations of Anyanya strength and as morale boosters within Anyanya forces. They also provide weapons, clothing, food, and other supplies. Independent observers who have visited Anyanya camps report that the guerrillas and much of the southern countryside— from lack of food, clothing, and medical supplies, as well as from government harassment.

Anyanya have real problems arming themselves. During the Congo's 1964 Simba rebellion they frequently captured arms supplies being sent to the rebels from Juba. After the rebellion ended, they disarmed rebels fleeing into Sudan. These arms

sources have long since dried up, however.

The Khartoum government has accused Israel of providing arms to Anyanya. But an independent observer, recently returned from a visit inside southern Sudan, reported no evidence of Israeli aid.

This source and other Anyanya spokesmen claim that other Arab countries are aiding the Khartoum government in its pursuit

of the war. Financial support is said to come from Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Morocco, and others. Algerian troops are reported to be garrisoning military outposts and operating patrols. Mr. Pajokdit declares that there are presently 25,000 Egyptian troops in Sudan, most of them fighting Anyanya in the south. In addition, he says, they are piloting bombing raids against the southerners.

## Egyptian aid denied

Mr. Mirghani, Sudan's Ambassador to Kenya, denies the presence of Egyptian troops in the South. "The Sudanese themselves would not accept this," he states. Mr. Mirghani also denies accounts of massacres and maimings by northern soldiers and claims that southern refugees are returning to Sudan in increasing numbers.

It is not easy to check the claims of either side in this conflict. Officially sanctioned travel in the region is restricted; unrestricted, unofficial travel is dangerous. Moreover, both sides are aware of the role of the press in shaping world opinion about the fighting. This results in exaggerations and half truths. So far, the Khartoum government has been largely successful in keeping the southern conflict from press notice.

It also is difficult to assess the rival claims. Reports of bombings, massacres, and maimings have come from the south for some months, however; some of them are brought out by independent observers. It seems likely that these reports contain elements of truth as well as exaggerations. Moreover, journalists who have toured the South with government troops report that Anyanya control many roads and have these troops isolated or pinned down in many areas.

Unquestionably, the fighting has cost heavily in terms of human lives. The United Nations estimates the toll at over 500,000. Southern Sudanese claim that another million have died in massacres or from indirect, war-related causes such as starvation and untreated wounds. A 1.5 million death toll would mean that 1 Sudanese in 10 had lost his life in the conflict, one southerner in about three.

It seems clear that an end to the fighting can come about only through a political settlement. That will not be easy to achieve, given past failures and the deep-seated animosities which exist on both sides. But the alternative to this appears to be the war of attrition or "extermination" which Mr. Pajokdit claims has begun.

See articles

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SOUTH SUDANESE REBEL MOVEMENT DAMAGING TO REGIME

The helicopter rotor drives reddish clouds of dust into the hazy African summer sky. Noisily, the Soviet Mi 8, weighing tons, rises from the landing field at Juba, capital of the Sudanese province of Equatoria. Our destination is the district city of Meridi, 240 kilometers toward the west, now reachable by land only twice a month by armed convoy. The passengers are a small group of information officials and journalists and a couple of government functionaries. An iron chest containing cash from the National Bank to the value of 150,000 pounds is carried as freight. The crew consists of a Sudanese air force officer as captain, a Soviet copilot in blue overalls who in fact directs the flight, a Soviet navigator, an Egyptian navigator who, except during take take-off and landing, occupies the third seat in the cockpit, and two soldiers, armed with heavy automatic rifles, relics of former German military aid to the Sudan. The soldiers watch for rebels through open portholes.

The rolling country, traversed from north to south by a few rough mountain ranges, seems from the altitude of 2500 meters almost empty of human beings. For an hour and ten minutes nothing is to be seen except yard-high steppe grass, scattered trees, sometimes condensing into bush, the windings of a river overgrown with algae, three or four villages of round grass huts. The whole of South Sudan, consisting of the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr-el-Ghazal (Gazelle River), with an area of 650,000 square kilometers, as large as the Federal Republic, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy put together, has a population of at most four million. The distance from Khartoum to Juba is as great as from Munich to Tunis, and from the eastern corner of the southern provinces on Lake Rudolph to the border with the Central African Republic

is as far as from Paris to Sofia. In the entire South there is no asphalted road, only dirt roads, most of which are not passable during the six-month long rainy season. The only railroad runs from Khartoum to Wau, capital of Bahr-el-Ghazal, and the only reliable, but slow, traffic route is the White Nile, which waters a 400 kilometer long swamp region between Juba and Malakal.

#### Cut Off for Decades

That this huge country today belongs to Sudan is a result of British colonial policy during the 19th century, as is the fact that for two generations it has not been assimilated by the Arab North. Rigorously, the British cut off the South from settlers and Islamic missionaries from the northern sections of the country, as well as against cultural and economic penetration from the more highly developed Arabic Sudan. The South remained Black Africa, the South remained backward. When the Sudan gained its independence in January, 1956, there were in the southern provinces only six persons with university educations, only one middle school, hardly the beginnings of commercial agriculture, practically no native handicrafts, and practically no industry. Perhaps 20,000 to 25,000 of the black tribesmen were converts to Islam, about 200,000 had been won over to Catholicism by white missionaries, 25,000 to 30,000 were protestants. The rest, over 90 percent, have up to the present time hung on to their native religions, grow millet for their own consumption, and live as hunters and food gatherers or as nomads with their herds of cattle.

Although the South was hardly conceivable as an independent commonwealth, the small African elite, which in this had the support of the people, from the beginning of independence resisted the turning over of British power to the Arabs. As early as in 1955, the last year

that time, with interruptions, been in a state of rebellion against Khartoum.

In Meridi, which the governor of Equatoria had the day before described as "the quietest and safest place in the province," the traces of the rebellion are seen almost everywhere. At the southern edge of the city, only 25 kilometers from the blue hills of the Congo, new plantings of millet and coffee can be inspected only when in advance a Landrover has been positioned at the edge of the field with its machine gun pointing toward the bush. Heavily armed soldiers surround every step taken by the journalists. On a dam, protected by armor plate and machine gun pits above the small reservoir formed by the Meridi River, the escorting officer asks with friendly solicitude: "You will not wish to go to the other side?"

As around all of the cities of the South, a ring of grass hut villages has grown up around Meridi, among the people of which there are too few men. The deputy commanding officer of the Southern Army Region, Colonel Omar el Tayeb, frankly admits that forced deportation is one of the cornerstones of the pacification policy. "We shall resettle the people. We collect them in the forests and in the open country and resettle them near the cities." The purpose is to deprive the rebels of the opportunity to disappear among the people and to support themselves. "And when the people refuse to come with the soldiers to build a 'peace village'?"

With the self-satisfied smile of a man who has done a good job, the Colonel estimates that over one half of the inhabitants of Equatoria who formerly lived in the bush and those who lived in the most endangered areas of the other two southern provinces have been collected. "We must simply do something for the people. It is the course of history. They

It does not please them, as a matter of fact. In the course of the resettlement, the men often disappear into the bush, to join the rebels or to go over the border, mostly to Ethiopia, Uganda, and the Congo. In the grass hut slums around the cities poverty predominates. From 1963 to 1970, the population of Juba increased from 18,000 to 65,000, and that of Meridi from 4,000 to 15,000. For that many people there is shortage of work, sanitary facilities, everything. Demoralization, idleness, crime, and prostitution prevail among most of those resettled. To the extent the people of the South have stayed on the land, the government during the civil war restrains tribal feuds less than before. Nevertheless, the villagers are between two fires: If they cooperate with the rebels, they meet with an army punitive expedition, if they remain loyal, which also happens, the rebels ruthlessly take revenge on them. There are tribes that have literally been crushed between these two millstones. Of the Lapit people, who once numbered 30,000, only a few hundreds now vegetate at the edge of Juba.

On a hill above Meridi's better secured north side, between palms, mango trees, and luxuriantly blooming shrubbery, stands the protestant church, a thatch-roofed English brick Tudor structure. A female choir sings a hymn in melancholy rhythm to the accompaniment of rattles and hand drums. Meridi's churches have not been disrupted. In Malakal, capital of Upper Nile Province, Monsignor Yukwan is even building a church with the financial aid of Rome. He declares that there has been no interference with his work and that his parish experiences no persecution.

In the night, other voices meet the strangers from the grass huts that are devoid of electric light. They speak with the firm faith

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and simple vocabulary of the mission school. "We must still have

confidence. God has given us this trial so that we may bear witness, and you, our brothers, must also do so," says a black Anglican minister, who no longer has a congregation. In the chaos of the years 1965-66 his church lost a total of 38 churches and meeting houses in the South. They were destroyed by government troops not because they were Christian, but because they were centers for the literate, organized minority which led the resistance to assimilation by the North. Since during the British time there were only mission schools in the South, the leaders of the autonomy movement can only be Christians. However, the majority that has remained heathen experiences nothing that is different.

"We no longer make progress, we fall behind," complains a Catholic priest. His church has lost fewer buildings, and has remained more intact organizationally, but since the expulsion of the 33 white missionaries at the disposal of the Sudanese government in 1962 the load on the shoulders of the few native clergymen is too heavy. Khartoum only seldom grants visas to priests from African and Arab countries who could help out in South Sudan. A Presbyterian church man expresses his opinion in the sharpest terms: "If what is being done to us by Khartoum were done by a white regime, the whole world would be stirred up. What is happening in South Sudan is ten times as bad as what our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia have to bear." Like practically all the young people with whom we talked when unobserved by government eyes, he admits to belonging to the Anya-Nya, the rebel movement, and to approve of its goal, secession.

In June of last year the Anya-Nya (Poison Grass) took the four other separatist organizations (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, and Nile Republic) under its wing, checkmated

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most of the former Federation politicians, and established a unified military command. Its leader is former Lieutenant Joseph Lago, a Catholic. Second in command is Samuel Abu John, ex-captain and Protestant, and third in command Frederick Brian William Maggot, former major and also a Protestant. Joseph Lago is said by the Sudanese secret service to have close contacts with Israel. He is said to have been there himself and to have sent other Anya-Nya fighters there for training.

#### Victory by Means of Soviet Helicopters

Although the fighting strength of the black rebels is estimated as slight by independent observers on the other side, the Anya-Nya has very largely attained one of its goals: A considerable part of the Sudanese army is today in the South. A large proportion of the roads is impassable because of mines and the danger of attacks from ambush. In December, an Anya-Nya group led by four white mercenaries attacked the police station at Bor on the Nile, 300 kilometers from the borders of Ethiopia and Uganda, killed a Shilluk chief who was collaborating with the authorities and four policemen and disappeared. The six rebels killed, left behind by the Anya-Nya, were well equipped and clothed. "When a year ago we caught a rebel, he had only one or two cartridges. Today they have bazookas and five-centimeter mortars," complained an officer.

From time to time, the rebels succeed in bringing smaller areas under their control. The most important of these, the Moroto (The Great Gathering Place), located in an inaccessible mountainous area on the border with Uganda south of Yei, was in the fall stormed by a Sudanese brigade after a battle lasting for 25 days. Helicopters, flown by Russians, played a decisive role. The commanding officer describes helicopters as "the only means the army has of carrying out such an operation. Without helicopters the soldiers would never have been able to reach this inaccessible place." Prisoners were rarely taken. Most of the rebels escaped,

as did the man who serves the Anya-Nya as chief trainer and Khartoum as  
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proof of imperialist instigation of the rebellion, the German ex-Foreign  
Legionnaire Rolf Steiner. Steiner was subsequently apprehended in Uganda  
and handed over to the Sudan. The contention that American and West  
Germans are pulling the strings behind the increased Anya-Nya activity  
has become small change in national Arab propaganda from Khartoum to  
Beirut, from Cairo to Baghdad. In the meantime, nobody can furnish  
details on the supposed materialization of the federated republic, not  
the administration in the South, not the army, not the police, not the  
information ministry in Khartoum, and the President's office. The  
Ministry for Southern Affairs serves up a list, in which are lumped  
together persons and organizations (Caritas of the Friends of Africa)  
who are active as propagandists or collectors of funds for the South  
Sudanese. A broadcasting station in Cologne is said to be stiffening the  
backs of the rebels.

Minister Joseph Garang, himself a Southlander and Communist, is  
more positive: "It cannot be a coincidence that these organizations  
become more active when a Left regime appears in the Sudan." The creation  
of Garang's ministry and his appointment to the administration for the  
South was one of the few actions that followed upon Numeiri's proclamation  
of the principles of regional autonomy of 9 June, 1969. When the  
revolutionary government at that time announced that it "recognized  
the historical and cultural differences between the North and the South  
and firmly believed that the unity of our country must be founded upon  
these objective facts," it was at first believed in the South. The  
rebellion died away. Complete calm prevailed for almost six months.

Nothing happened, however, except that projects for economic  
development of the three provinces were proposed. Arabic remained the only  
language in the administration and in the schools; the government, the  
army, and the civil service remained preponderantly Arabic. There  
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no southerner in the Revolutionary Council, only two in the cabinet;

only one of nine provincial governors is from the South, and only three officers of ranks as high as colonel; at Khartoum University there are only 220 students from the southern provinces; there is no joint regional administration for the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr-el-Ghazal, staffed and directed by southerners. The chance of meeting the desires of the South in peace, so that the fires of rebellion could be permanently extinguished, has been passed up. The vicious circle has once more been closed: As long as the rebellion lasts, no real autonomy can be assured, and as long as autonomy is not assured, the rebellion will last.

CPYRGHT

Südsudan: Aufstand als Überbleibsel des Kolonialismus

# Das „Giftige Gras“ verletzt das Regime

Die Regierung macht die Gewährung der Autonomie von der Auflösung der Rebellenbewegung abhängig

Von unserem Korrespondenten Rudolph Chimelli

**Khartum, im Januar**

Der Rotor des Hubschraubers treibt rötliche Staubwolken in den dunstigen afrikanischen Sommerhimmel. Geräuschvoll hebt sich die tonnenschwere sowjetische Mi 8 vom Flugplatz von Juba, der Hauptstadt der südsudanesischen Provinz Äquatoria. Das Ziel: 240 Kilometer weiter westlich die Distriktstadt Meridi, die auf dem Landweg nur noch zweimal monatlich im bewaffneten Konvoi erreichbar ist. Die Fracht: eine kleine Gruppe Informationsbeamte und Journalisten, ein paar Regierungsfunktionäre, ein Eisenkoffer mit 150 000 Pfund in bar von der Nationalbank. Die Besatzung: ein sudanesischer Fliegeroffizier als Kommandant, im blauen Overall ein sowjetischer Kopilot, der jedoch tatsächlich den Flug dirigiert, ein sowjetischer Navigator, ein ägyptischer Navigator, der außer beim Start und bei der Landung den dritten Sitz in der Kanzel übernimmt, und zwei Soldaten, die rechts und links mit schweren Maschinengewehren, Relikten einstiger deutscher Militärhilfe an den Sudan, aus geöffneten Bullaugen nach Rebellen spähen.

Das wellige Land, das einige schroffe Felsbarrieren von Nord nach Süd durchziehen, erscheint aus 2500 Meter Flughöhe fast monoton. Ein riesiges Steppengras, einzelne Bäume, die sich manchmal zum Gebüsch verdichten, die Win-

dungen eines algenverwachsenen Flusses, drei oder vier Dörfer aus runden Grasshütten, sonst während einer Stunde und zehn Minuten nichts. Der ganze Südsudan, bestehend aus den Provinzen Äquatoria, Ober-Nil und Bahr-el-Ghazal (Gazellenfluß), mit seinen 650 000 Quadratkilometern so groß wie die Bundesrepublik Österreich, die Schweiz und Italien zusammen, hat höchstens vier Millionen Einwohner. Von Khartum nach Juba ist es so weit wie von München nach Tunis, von der östlichen Ecke der Südsudanprovinzen am Rudolfsee bis an die Grenze der Zentralafrikanischen Republik so weit wie von Paris nach Sofia. Im ganzen Süden gibt es keine Asphaltstraße, sondern nur Erdwege, von denen die meisten während der sechs Monate während der Regenzeit nicht benutzbar sind, eine Eisenbahn von Khartum nach Wau, der Hauptstadt von Bahr-el-Ghazal, und als einzigen zuverlässigen, aber langsamen Verkehrsweg den Weißen Nil, der zwischen Juba und Malakal ein 400 Kilometer langes und 300 Kilometer breites Sumpfgebiet bewässert.

**Seit Jahrzehnten abgeriegelt**

Daß dieses riesige Land heute zum Sudan gehört, ist eine Folge britischer Kolonialpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert. Die 1948 gegründete Arabische Republik Sudan, die im 20. Jahrhundert nicht an den arabischen Norden assimiliert wurde, ebenfalls. Rigoros sperrten die

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Britten den Süden gegen Siedler und islamische Missionen. Die kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Durchdringung aus dem höher entwickelten arabischen Sudan ab. Der Süden blieb zurück. Als der Sudan am 1. Januar 1956 in die Unabhängigkeit entlassen wurde, gab es in den drei Südpunkten nur sechs Personen mit Universitätsbildung, nur eine einzige Mittelschule, kaum Ansätze zu einer kommerziell betriebenen Landwirtschaft, so gut wie kein einheimisches Handwerk, praktisch keine Industrie. Vielleicht 20 000 bis 25 000 der schwarzen Stammesleute waren zum Islam bekehrt, etwa 200 000 waren von weißen Missionaren für den Katholizismus gewonnen, 25 000 bis 30 000 waren Protestanten. Die übrigen, mehr als 90 Prozent, hängen bis heute Naturreligionen an, bauen wie eh und je Negerhirse zum eigenen Verbrauch, leben als Jäger und Sammler oder nomadisieren mit ihren Rinderherden.

Obgleich der Süden als selbständiges Gemeinwesen kaum vorstellbar war, wehrte sich die kleine afrikanische Elite, die hierin ihren Rückhalt beim Volk hatte, von Anfang an dagegen, daß mit der Unabhängigkeit des Sudan die Macht von britischen in arabische Hände übergehen sollte. Schon 1955, im letzten Jahr der Herrschaft Londons, meuterten die südlichen Garnisonen. Da der Süden mit seinen Forderungen auf Autonomie und Föderation niemals durchdrang, befindet er sich seither mit Unterbrechungen im Aufstand gegen Khartum.

In Meridi, das der Gouverneur von Äquatoria am Tag zuvor als „ruhigsten und sichersten Platz in der Provinz“ geschildert hat, sind die Spuren der Rebellion fast überall zu sehen. Am

südlichen Stadtrand, von wo es zu den blauen Hügeln des Kongo nur 25 Kilometer sind, können neue Anpflanzungen von Hirse und Kaffee nur besichtigt werden, wenn vorher ein Land-Rover mit aufmontiertem Maschinengewehr am Rand der Felder in Richtung auf den Busch in Stellung gegangen ist. Schwerebewaffnete Soldaten umringen jeden Schritt der Journalisten. Auf dem von einem Schützenpanzer und Maschinengewehrlöchern gesicherten Damm, der

den Meridi-Fluß zu einem kleinen See staut, fragt der Begleitoffizier freundlich besorgt: „Sie wollen doch nicht auf die andere Seite gehen?“

Wie um alle Städte des Südens hat sich um Meridi ein Ring von Grashüttendörfern gebildet, unter deren Bewohnern zu wenig Männer sind. Der stellvertretende Kommandeur des südlichen Armeebereichs, Oberst Omar el Tayeb, gibt offen zu, daß die Zwangsdeportation einer der Eckpfeiler der Befriedungspolitik ist. „Wir wollen die Leute umsiedeln. Wir sammeln sie in den Wäldern und im offenen Land ein und siedeln sie in der Nähe der Städte neu an.“ Der Zweck sei, den Rebellen die Möglichkeit zu nehmen, in der Bevölkerung unterzutauchen und sich zu versorgen. „Und wenn die Leute nicht mit Ihren Soldaten kommen, und ein ‚Friedensdorf‘ bauen wollen?“

Mit dem selbstzufriedenen Lächeln eines Mannes, der ein gutes Werk geleistet hat, schätzt der Oberst, daß über die Hälfte der früher im Busch lebenden Einwohner Äquatorias und der am meisten gefährdeten Gebiete der beiden anderen Südpunkten eingesammelt worden ist. „Wir müssen einfach etwas für die Leute tun. Es ist der Gang der Geschichte. Jetzt gefällt es ihnen nicht, aber später werden sie uns verstehen.“

Es gefällt ihnen tatsächlich nicht. Bei der Umsiedlung verschwinden häufig die Männer im

Kongo zu gehen. In den Grashüttenslums um die Eliten der Stadt Khartum, Juba ist von 1963 bis zum vergangenen Jahr von 10 000 auf 15 000. Für ner gewachsen, Meridi von 4000 auf 15 000. Für so viele Menschen fehlt es an Arbeit, an sanitären Einrichtungen, an allem. Demoralisierung, Müßiggang, Kriminalität, Prostitution sind die Dominanten im Leben der meisten Umsiedler.

Soweit die Bevölkerung des Südens auf dem Land geblieben ist, gebietet die Regierung im Bürgerkrieg den Stammesfehden weniger als früher Einhalt. Ohnehin stehen die Dörfer zwischen zwei Feuern: Arbeiten sie mit den Rebellen zusammen, trifft sie eine Strafexpedition der Armee; bleiben sie loyal, was auch vorkommt, rächen sich an ihnen rücksichtslos die Aufständischen. Es gibt Stämme, die von diesen Mühlscheinen buchstäblich zerrieben worden sind. Vom Volk der Lapit, das einst 30 000 zählte, vegetieren heute nur noch wenige Hundert am Rand von Juba.

Auf einem Hügel über Meridis besser gesicherter Nordseite steht zwischen Palmen, Mangobäumen und üppig wuchernden Blütensträuchern die protestantische Kirche: strohgedecktes englisches Backstein-Tudor. Ein Frauenchor singt zur Begleitung von Rasseln und Handtrommeln eine melancholisch-rhythmische Hymne. Meridis Kirchen waren nie zerstört. In Malakal, der Hauptstadt von Obernil, ist Monsignore Yukwan sogar dabei, mit der Finanzhilfe Roms eine neue Kirche zu bauen. Er bezeugt, daß er keine Behinderung seiner Arbeit und daß seine Gemeinde keine Verfolgung kennt.

Aus der elektrizitätslosen Nacht der Grashütten dringen dem Fremden andere Stimmen entgegen. Sie sprechen mit dem festen Glauben und

dem einfachen Vokabular der Missionsschule. „Wir haben noch immer Vertrauen zu Weißen. Gott hat uns diese Prüfung aufgegeben, damit wir Zeugnis ablegen, und ihr, unsere Brüder, müßt es auch tun“, sagt ein schwarzer anglikanischer Pfarrer, der keine Gemeinde mehr hat. Seine Kirche hat in den Wirren der Jahre 1965/66 im gesamten Süden 38 Gotteshäuser und Versammlungsgebäude verloren. Sie wurden von den Regierungstruppen zerstört, nicht weil sie christlich, sondern weil sie die Zentren der lesenden, schreibenden, organisiert handelnden Minderheit waren, die den Widerstand gegen die Eingliederung in den Norden leitete. Da es zur britischen Zeit im Süden nur Missionsschulen gab, konnten die Führer der Autonomiebewegung nur Christen sein. Die heidnisch gebliebene Minderheit, die ihre politischen Wünsche nicht verständlich machen kann, empfindet jedoch nicht anders als sie.

„Wir machen keine Fortschritte mehr, wir fallen zurück“ klagt ein katholischer Priester. Seine Kirche hat weniger Gebäude eingebüßt und ist organisatorisch besser intakt geblieben, aber seit der Ausweisung sämtlicher 33 weißen Missionare, welche die sudanesischen Regierung 1963 verfügte, ist die Last auf den Schultern der wenigen einheimischen Pfarrer zu schwer. Selbst Priestern aus afrikanischen und arabischen Ländern, die im Südsudan aushelfen könnten, gibt Khartum nur selten ein Visum. Am schärfsten urteilt ein presbyterianischer Kirchenmann: „Wenn ein weißes Regime mit uns täte, was Khartum mit uns macht, würde sich die ganze Welt darüber aufregen. Was im Südsudan geschieht, ist zehnmal schlimmer als das, was unsere Brüder in Südafrika und Rhodesien auszuhalten haben.“ Wie praktisch alle jüngeren Gesprächspartner, wenn sie von Regierungsaugen unbemerkt sind, bekennt er sich zur „Anyang-Ziel, zur Sezession.“

Die Anya-Nya (zu deutsch: giftiges Gras) hat sich in der letzten Zeit die CIA-RDP79-01194A000300130001-9 CPYRIGHT listen-Organisationen (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, Nile Republic) unter ihre Fittiche genommen, die meisten der früheren zivilen Föderationspolitiker: mattgesetzt und ein einheitliches Militärkommando errichtet. Ihr Führer ist der ehemalige Leutnant Joseph Lago, ein Katholik. An zweiter Stelle steht Samuel Abu John, Ex-Hauptmann und Protestant, an dritter Stelle Frederick Brian William Maggot, gleichfalls Protestant und ehemaliger Major. Joseph Lago werden vom sudanesischen Geheimdienst enge Verbindungen nach Israel nachgesagt. Er sei selber dort gewesen und habe andere Anya-Nya-Krieger zur Ausbildung hingeschickt.

## Siege mit russischen Hubschraubern

Obleich die Kampfkraft der schwarzen Rebellen von unabhängigen Beobachtern, die auf der anderen Seite waren, gering eingeschätzt wird, hat die Anya-Nya dieses Ziel sehr weitgehend erreicht: Ein erheblicher Teil der sudanesischen Armee steht heute im Süden. Ein großer Teil der Straßen ist durch Minen und Gefahr von Überfällen aus dem Hinterhalt unpassierbar. Im Dezember attackierte eine Anya-Nya-Gruppe unter Führung von vier weißen Söldnern die Polizeistation von Bor am Nil, 300 Kilometer von der Grenze Äthiopiens oder Ugandas entfernt, tötete einen mit den Behörden kollaborierenden Schilluk-Häuptling und für Polizisten und verschwand. Die sechs Gefallenen, welche die Anya-Nya zurückließ, waren gut ausgerüstet und gekleidet. „Wenn wir ein Jahr vorher einen Rebellen fingen, hatte er nur ein oder zwei Patronen. Jetzt haben sie Bazookas und 5-Zentimeter-Mörser“, klagte ein Offizier.

Zeitweise gelingt es den Rebellen, kleinere Gebiete unter ihre Kontrolle zu nehmen. Das wichtigste davon, genannt „Moroto“ (der große Versammlungsplatz), das in einem schwer zugänglichen, bergigen Areal im Grenzgebiet mit Uganda südlich von Yei lag, konnte eine sudanesishe Brigade im Herbst nach 25tägigen Kämpfen erstürmen. Die von Russen geflogenen Hubschrauber spielten dabei die entscheidende Rolle. „Das einzige Mittel für die Armee, diese Operation auszuführen“, nennt sie der Kommandant. „Ohne Helikopter hätten die Soldaten niemals an diese unwegsamen Plätze gelangen können.“ Gefangene wurden kaum gemacht. Die meisten Aufständischen entkamen, so auch der Mann, der den Anya-Nya als Chefausbilder und Khartum als Beweis für imperialistische Anstiftung der Rebellion dient: der deutsche Ex-Fremdenlegionär Rolf Steiner, der später in Uganda festgenommen und jetzt an den Sudan ausgeliefert wurde. Die Behauptung, israelische, amerikanische und westdeutsche Drahtzieher stünden hinter der verstärkten Aktivität der Anya-Nya ist zum Kleingeld national-arabischer Propaganda von Khartum bis Beirut, von Kairo bis Bagdad geworden. Details zur angeblichen Verwicklung der Bundesrepublik kann in dessen niemand liefern, nicht die Verwaltung im Süden, nicht die Armee, nicht die Polizei, nicht

das Informationsministerium in Khartum, nicht das Amt des Präsidenten. Das Ministerium für Angelegenheiten des Südens wartet mit einer Liste auf, in der in pauschaler Form Personen und Organisationen („die Caritas die Freunde Afrikas“) genannt werden, die propagandistisch oder als Geldsammler für die Südsudanesischen tätig sind. Ein Sender, „Die Stimme Afrikas“, soll von Köln aus den Rebellen den Rücken steifen.

Bestimmt wird erst der Minister, Joseph Garang, selbst Südländer und Kommunist: „Es kann kein Zufall sein, daß diese Organisationen immer dann aktiv werden, wenn im Sudan ein linkes Regime erscheint.“ Die Schaffung von Garangs Ministerium und seine Berufung in das Ressort für den Süden sind einige der wenigen Taten, die auf Numeiris Proklamation des Prinzips der Regionalautonomie am 9. Juni 1969 folgten. Als die Revolutionsregierung damals verkündete, daß sie „die historischen und kulturellen Unterschiede zwischen Nord und Süd anerkennt und fest daran glaubt, daß die Einheit unseres Landes auf diese objektiven Tatsachen gegründet werden muß“, hatte sie zunächst Kredit im Süden. Der Aufstand schloß ein. Nahezu ein halbes Jahr lang herrschte völlige Ruhe.

Doch es geschah nichts, außer daß Projekte zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der drei Provinzen entworfen wurden. Arabisch blieb die alleinige Sprache der Verwaltung und der Schulen, überwiegend arabisch blieben Regierung, Armee und Beamtenschaft. Im Revolutionsrat gibt es keinen Südländer, im Kabinett nur zwei; nur einer von neun Provinzgouverneuren stammt aus dem Süden, drei Obersten sind die ranghöchsten Offiziere, welche der Südsudan hervorgebracht hat; an der Universität Khartum studieren nur 220 Studenten aus den Südpfeilen; eine gemeinsame Regionalverwaltung für Äquatoria, Ober-Nil und Bahr-el-Ghasal, besetzt und dirigiert von Südländern, gibt es nicht. Die Chance, den Wünschen des Südens im Frieden entgegenzukommen, damit das Feuer des Aufstands dauernd gelöscht werde, wurde verpaßt, der Circulus vitiosus ist wieder geschlossen: So lange die Rebellion andauert, kann keine wirkliche Autonomie gewährt werden; so lange keine Autonomie gewährt wird, dauert die Rebellion an.

THE ROY WILKINS COLUMN:

## *Sudan's Racism Traps Blacks*

WASHINGTON — Hardly a week goes by without revealing that the pat propaganda phrases of many of the sloganeering black militants are so much hokum. A minority of black thinkers believes it now has a chance to stampede their own race into a suicidal emotionalism under the sweeping black label.

### Sudanese Genocide

Two black Sudanese have outlived the persecution of black people by the Arabs in Northern Sudan and thus have forced the pro-Arab black operators here toward a moment of truth.

These have been harping on the charge of genocide. They want the world to believe that because of police killings and other black deaths, the U.S.A. is practicing "genocide," that is, exterminating the Negro population.

Nobody among the dark wailers has bothered to try to explain why, if genocide is a policy, the total Negro population keeps increasing. The black birth rate is higher than that of whites. The life expectancy of Negro men and women is stretching to more and more years.

The kinds of insurance policies now available to Negroes testify in unsentimental statistics to the improvement in health and in the diversification in occupations. Granted that ghetto life is grinding and hard, that malnutrition takes

its toll, that Negroes arrested for an alleged infraction of the law are more likely than whites to be convicted and that narcotics have made searing inroads, it is still not accurate to call the Negro death rate "genocide."

The petition filed with the United Nations by two black Sudanese puts genocide in its proper place. They charge that 250,000 black Sudanese have been shot to death and 250,000 have died of hunger.

The half-million dead, they assert, were the result of official policy which the Arab-led Khartoum government is enforcing against four million blacks in southern Sudan. If one-eighth of the black population is killed off by government, then genocide is a valid charge.

The petition, however, exposed more than the genocide fantasy of American black militants. All the far left Negroes, the big name black leaders in exile in Algeria or those taking their leisure elsewhere in Africa, have been preaching the vilest anti-Semitism.

They have promised Egypt that black American volunteer soldiers would help the Arabs against Israel. It is true that there have been changes in the mood of black America, but no one has yet recorded any rush of blacks to fight alongside the Arabs.

### Curious Silence

Speech makers, interviewees and analysts of the black revolution keep curiously silent on the persecution of black

people in the Sudan by the Arab-led government. The U.N. petition filed by the Southern Sudan Liberation Front declares that Egyptian and Libyan troops are being used against black Sudanese and that Soviet-built aircraft are bombarding the black provinces.

Black militants beat the tom-tom for black, black, black. They sound often like their pet hate: racists.

Every Negro American who does not embrace in unquestioning fashion the goodness of blackness is denounced as a "traitor to his race." He merely may be saying that two plus two equals four, but if the black spellbinders say the total, in "black experience" is five, then he is condemned.

The disciples of blackism and their white sycophants are now called upon to become something they have never been: consistent. Are they for the liberation front in black Sudan as they declare themselves to be for the liberation front in Vietnam?

Do they oppose the Arab-led government in Khartoum, or do they continue to urge Negro Americans to help the Arabs exterminate Israel?

It is long past time for someone to say something besides "black." Like "humanity," for instance.

(The Register and Tribune Syndicate)

MORGENBLADET, Oslo  
23 January 1971

### NORWAY SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT IN ITS STAND ON SUDAN

"I would like to see Norway play a leading role when it comes to defending international human rights, by being more active -- in the United Nations, for example -- and by bringing up concrete issues in the international forum when human life, security, and liberty are in danger."

These words were spoken by Lars Korvald, president of the lower chamber of Parliament and chairman of the Christian People's Party, in an interview with this paper, commenting on the slow progress made in getting the civil war in southern Sudan discussed by the United Nations.

During the foreign policy debate in Parliament last November, Korvald proposed that the Norwegian government take the initiative in this matter at the UN, request that a committee of investigation be sent to the area affected by the civil war and later present concrete proposals for ending the bloody conflict.

We asked if anything had happened since he took the matter up in Parliament.

"No," said Lars Korvald. "Usually such proposals are 'picked up' by the government which then -- usually once a year -- issues a statement or a document on what it has done about them. If a parliamentary representative wants the matter brought up for a vote in

We asked what he thought was the reason why not just Norway but most countries seem so unwilling to discuss in the UN matters pertaining to breaches of human rights.

"Apparently formalities and a kind of built-in mechanism of sluggishness in foreign affairs offices," Korvald said. "This is especially true with regard to the UN. Formal difficulties are used as excuses -- 'This is not the right time,' or 'Other countries will not support our position,' and so forth.

"But it seems to me that once in a while Norway could take it upon itself to stand alone on an issue on which we really think action should be taken, when we feel that the UN could really do something positive. If we took such a firm stand, others would usually join us after a while. In my opinion Norway has such status that no one would suspect us of twisted political motives if we spoke out on such matters."

We asked if our caution might not be due to political motives. Was Norway afraid to step out of line with the great powers?

"No, that I would not believe," said the president of the lower house emphatically. "But it is my impression that too little attention is paid to encroachment on human rights, although I am happy to note that popular opinion and politicians in general are becoming more and more convinced that we must take a more active line in order to protect these rights."

Lars Korvald om Syd-Sudan og FN:

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## „Norge bør våge å stå alene"

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— Jeg vil gjerne se Norge som et foregangsland når det gjelder å forsvare de internasjonale menneskerettigheter, ved at vi spilte en mer aktiv rolle — f. eks. i FN — og at vi ikke måtte vilke unna for å ta opp konkrete saker i internasjonale fora når medmenneskers liv, sikkerhet og frihet er i fare.

Det er formann i Kristelig Folkeparti, lagtingspresident Lars Korvald som sier dette til Morgenbladet i en kommentar til den treghet som hersker når det gjelder å få drøftet borgerkrigen i Syd-Sudan i FN.

Av GUNNAR MOE

Under utenriksdebatten i Stortinget i november ifjor, fremmet Korvald et forslag om at den norske regjering måtte ta et initiativ i denne saken i FN, og kreve at en granskningskommisjon ble sendt til området der borgerkrigen pågår, for så senere å fremlegge konkrete forslag til en løsning av den blodige konflikten.

— Er det skjedd noe med denne saken siden De tok den opp i Stortinget?

— Nei, sier Lars Korvald, — det vanlige er jo at slike forslag blir «samlet opp» av Regjeringen, som så — vanligvis en gang pr. år — sender ut en melding eller et dokument om hva den har foretatt seg i disse sakene. Hvis en stortingsrepresentant ønsker saken gjort til et politisk spørsmål, må han bringe den i Stortinget, da må han be om

slik votering med en gang. Ellers er vanlig praksis at forslagene blir vedlagt protokollen og oversendt Regjeringen.

— Hva tror De er den egentlige årsak til at ikke bare Norge, men de fleste land, viser så liten vilje til å ta den opp i FN saker som gjelder brudd på menneskerettighetene?

— Det virker mest som om det er formaliteter og en slags innbygget treghetsmekanisme i utenriktstjenesten, mener Korvald. — I særdeleshet gjelder dette overfor FN. Man unnskylder seg med formelle vanskeligheter: «det er ikke det rette tidspunkt», «vi vil ikke få støtte fra andre stater», osv.

— Men jeg tror imidlertid at Norge en gang iblant kunne koste seg å stå alene om en sak der vi virkelig mener at noe bør gjøres, og hvor vi tror at FN kunne

utrette noe positivt. Tar vi en slik fast holdning, vil vi som regel også etterhvert få følge av andre. Norge er, etter min mening, i en slik posisjon at ingen vil kunne mistenke oss for å ta skjeve, særpolitiske hensyn om vi så klart ifra i slike saker.

— Ligger det kanskje politiske hensyn bak vår forsiktighet? Er vi redde for å komme litt på kant med stormaktene?

— Nei, det vil jeg nødig tro, sier lagtingspresidenten bestemt. — Men det er mitt inntrykk at det ofres altfor lite oppmerksomhet på krenkelser av menneskerettighetene, selv om det er gledelig å registrere at både folkeopinionen og politikerne i sin almindelighet, i stigende utstrekning gjøres bevisste om at en mer aktiv linje er nødvendig for å beskytte disse rettigheter.

#### CONDITIONS IN SUDAN TEN TIMES WORSE THAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

"If a white government treated us the way Khartoum does, the whole world would have risen up in protest. But what is going on in the southern Sudan is ten times worse than the conditions being endured by our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia."

This statement was made by a southern Sudanese Presbyterian minister to Rudolph Chimelli, foreign correspondent for Sddeutsche Zeitung, in an interview dated January 1971 and appearing in that paper on 22 January.

Like almost all the younger people with whom the journalist came into contact, this minister believed in the rebel movement, the Anya-Nya, and in its political goal -- emancipation.

"We are no longer making any progress, we're just going backward," a Catholic priest complained to Chimelli. The religious society to which he belongs needs to repair some of its churches and must improve its organizational conditions.

But since 33 of the white missionaries of this church were ordered to leave the country in 1962 by the Sudanese government, the burden has fallen much too heavily on the shoulders of the few native priests. Even priests from other Arabian and African countries -- who would be able to help the South Sudanese -- are seldom granted visas by the Khartoum government.

#### Deportation

Chimelli told of a helicopter trip he took from Juba (capital of Equatoria province) to the town of Meridi, 240 kilometers to the west. The helicopter, a Russian Mi-8, was flown by a Sudanese pilot and manned by a crew of Russians and Egyptians. It also carried soldiers who kept a constant watch on the ground for guerillas.

In Meridi, they were met by the deputy commandant of the southern army forces, Colonel Omar el Tayeb, who told the arriving press representatives that "forced deportation was one of the cornerstones of the government's liberation policy."

"We will find other places for these people to live. That is why we are rounding them up in the jungle and from the open country and making them settle near the cities. Our goal is to prevent the rebels from mixing in with the people and from being supported by the local population.

The journalists asked the colonel what happened if the people did not want to join his soldiers in building these "peace villages."

"We simply have to do something for them. It is the course of history. They don't understand that yet, but they will understand it later on."

With a self-satisfied smile, he said that over half of those who had been caught by the troops had come along to the villages. He said nothing about what had happened to the other half, according to Chimelli.

#### Slum

However, it is very obvious that the Negroes of southern Sudan do not understand that the government soldiers want to "do something" for them. Most of the people who were rounded up like cattle from the fields run away from the "peace villages." They join the Anya-Nya out in the bush or cross the border to Ethiopia, the Congo, or Uganda, according to the correspondent for Suddeutsche Zeitung. And there is great poverty in the grass hut slums surrounding the cities. As an example, he mentioned that since 1963, Juba had suffered a population explosion from 18,000 to 63,000 inhabitants. Meridi's population had swelled from 4,000 to 15,000 in the same period. There is not enough employment, sanitary facilities, or anything else for that many people.

The result has been demoralization, criminality, unemployment, and prostitution.

#### Dilemma of Tribes

As long as the population in the south remains out in the country, the civil war serves to reduce the frequency and intensity of tribal feuds. Even so, the villages are faced with a dilemma -- if they cooperate with the rebels, they become targets for the government forces' punitive expeditions. If they are loyal to the government in Khartoum -- which does happen -- they are exposed to severe retaliatory actions by the rebels.

There are tribes that have literally been torn apart by this dilemma. Of the Lapi people, who used to number 30,000, there remain today only a few hundred who vegetate in the outskirts of Juba. Chimelli cites this as an example of what this ruthless civil war leads to.

The Anya-Nya (the proper translation of which would be "poison grass") took the entire separatist movement under its wing last June (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, Nile Republic).

The leader of this front is a Catholic and former lieutenant, Joseph Lagu. His second in command, Samuel Abu John, is a Protestant and former captain in the army. Next in line is a former major, a Protestant, Frederick Brian William Maggot.

The Sudanese secret police claim that Lagu is in close touch with Israel, that he has been to that country himself, and that he sends other Anya-Nya warriors there for military training.

#### Army Must Stay in South

Even if the military forces of the Anya-Nya are estimated to be

of the Sudanese army has to remain in southern Sudan. And the Anya-Nya have been able to render a large number of roads impassable because of mines and because of the constant threat of ambush and guerilla attack.

"Just a year ago, if we managed to capture a rebel, he usually had only two or three cartridges with him. But today they have bazookas and 2-inch grenade launchers," a worried officer in the government forces told Rudolph Chimelli.

Government sources also said that without the Russian helicopters, government forces would have little opportunity to attack Anya-Nya squads. They often operate over such rugged and difficult terrain that it would be sheer suicide to try to pursue them. In such areas, the rebels are often actually in control, according to Suddeutsche Zeitung.



MORGENBLADET, Oslo  
26 January 1971

CPYRGHT

Sudanesisk prest til tysk avis:

## „Ti ganger verre enn i Syd-Afrika”

«Hvis et hvitt regime hadde behandlet oss slik Khartoum nu gjør, da ville utvilsomt hele verden rast og skreket opp. Men det som skjer i Syd-Sudan er ti ganger verre enn de tilstander som våre brødre i Syd-Afrika og Rhodesia må lide under.»

Det er en syd-sudanesisk, presbyteriansk prest som sier dette til Süddeutsche Zeitungs utsendte medarbeider Rudolph Chimelli, i en rapport datert januar 1971 (SZ 22. ds.)

Og som praktisk talt alle de yngre personer denne journalisten kom i kontakt med, bekjente også denne presten seg til opprørsbevegelsen Anya-nya og dens politiske mål: Løsrivelse.

— Vi gjør ikke lenger noe fremkritt, vi bare faller tilbake klaget en katolsk prest seg til Chimelli. Det kirkesamtunnet han tilhører har klart å flikke på endel kirker, og har organisatorisk sett klart å bedre sine vilkår endel.

Men etterat samtlige 33 av denne kirkens hvite misjonærer ble utvist av den sudanesiske regjering i 1962, er byrden på de få innfødte presters skuldre blitt for tung. Selv prester fra andre arabiske og afrikanske land — som kunne hjelpe syd-sudaneserne — blir sjelden innvilget visum fra Khartoum-regjeringen

TVANGS-  
DEPORTASJON

Chimelli beretter om en helikoptertur han var med på fra Juba, hovedstaden i provinsen Equatoria, til striktsbyen Meridi, 240 km lenger vest. Helikopteret en

russisk Mi-8, ble fløyet av en sudanesisk pilot og med et mannskap som ellers bestod av både russere og egyptere, hadde også med seg soldater som holdt kontinuerlig utkikk etter mulige gerilja-soldater på bakken.

I Meridi ble de møtt av stedfortredende kommandant for den sydlige armégruppe, oberst Omar el Tayeb, som kunne fortelle de ankomne pressefolk at «tvangsdeportasjon var en av hjørnesteinene i regjeringens frigjøringspolitikk».

— Vi vil finne andre boplasser for folket. Derfor samler vi dem inn i skogene og på det åpne landet og får dem til å bosette seg i nærheten av byene. Målet er å hindre at opprørerne skal kunne blande seg med folket og bli forsynt av den lokale befolkning.

—Og hvis folket ikke vill med Deres soldater for å bygge slike «fredsbyer» — hva da? spurte journalistene obersten.

— Vi må ganske enkelt gjøre noe for dem. Det er historien gang. De innser ikke dette ennå, men senere vil de komme til å forstå det.

Med et selvtillfreds smil kunne han fortelle at over halvparten av dem om var blitt innfanget av troppene hadde blitt med til byene. Hva som skjedde med den andre halvparten sa han intet om, ifølge Chimelli.

## SLUM

Det er innidertid tydelig at negrene i Syd-Sudan slett ikke forstår at regjeringssoldatene vil «gjøre noe» for dem. Flesteparten av mennene, som blir samlet inn som kveg på markene, rømmer fra «fredsbyene». De slutter seg til Anya-nya ute i bushen, eller de flykter over grensen til Etiopia, Congo eller Uganda. Slike stridende og urolige medarbeider. Og i gresshyttslommen rundt byene hersker

det stor armød. Som eksempel nevner han at Juba siden 1963 har hatt en befolknings-eksplosjon fra 18 000 til 63 000 innbyggere; Meridi fra 4000 til 15 000 i samme tidsrom. For så mange mennesker mangler man både arbeide, sanitæranlegg og så godt som alt annet.

Resultatet er demokratisering, kriminalitet, lediggang, prostitusjon.

MELLOM BARKEN  
OG VEDEN

Så langt befolkningen i syd er blitt tilbake ute på landsbygden, betyr borgerkrigen at stammefeldene er blitt langt sjeldnere og svakere. Men allikevel står landsbyene mellom barken og veden: Hvis de samarbeider med opprørerne, rammes de av regjeringsstyrkenes straffe-ekspedisjoner. Hvis de er lojale mot regimet i Khartoum — noe som også forekommer — utsettes de for hensynsløse gjengjeldelsesaksjoner fra opprørernes side.

Det finnes stammer som bokstavelig talt er blitt revet i stykker i dette dilemma. Av Lapi-folket, som en gang tellet 30 000 mennesker, gjenstår der i dag kun noen få hundre som vegeterer i utkanten av Juba, beretter Chimelli som et eksempel på hva denne hensynsløse borgerkrigen har ført til

Anya-nya (som rett oversatt betyr «giftig gress») tok i juni fjor den samlede separatistbevegelse under sine vinger (Anzania Liberation League, Suer Republic, Anidi Government, Nile Republic).

Lederen for denne fronten er en katolikk og tidligere løytnant, Joseph Lago. Hans nestkommanderende heter Samuel Abu John og er protestant og tidligere kaptein i hæren. Som nr. 2 kommer en tidligere major, protestanten Frederick M. Williams Maggot.

Det sudanesiske hemmelige

politik hevder at Lago står i nær kontakt med Israel, at han selv har vært i det landet og at han sender andre Anya-nya-krigere dit for militær utdannelse.

HÆREN BINDES  
I SYD

Selv om Anya-nyas militære styrke regnes for å være ganske beskjeden, har den i hvert fall klart å oppnå at mesteparten av den sudanesiske hær må stå i Syd-Sudan. Og en stor del av velene har Anya-nya klart å gjøre nesten ufremkommelige, ved å plassere mine og på grunn av den stadige truselen om overfall og gerilja-angrep.

—Når vi for bare ett år siden klarte å fange en opprører, så hadde han vanligvis bare to eller tre patroner på seg. Men i dag har de både bazookas og 2-tommers bombekastere, uttalte en bekymret offiser i regjeringstyrkene til Rudolph Chimelli.

På regjeringshold fikk han også høre at uten de sovjetiske helikopterene ville ikke regjeringsstyrkene ha store muligheter for å gripe inn mot Anya-nyas avdelinger. De ferdes ofte i så ulendt og vanskelig terreng, at det ville være det rene selvmord å forfølge dem. I disse områdene har opprørerne ofte den reelle kontroll, skriver Süddeutsche Zeitung.

## SUDAN

### Move To Restore Confidence In Private Sector

Without actually renouncing any socialist aims, the revolutionary government of Maj.-Gen. al-Nimeiry is quietly trying to restore confidence in the private sector of the economy. Various commissions have been set up to try to revive the economy, which was all but shattered by a policy of purges, nationalizations and confiscations. Well-informed financial circles in Khartoum say that as a result, Sudan—a vast agricultural land with a population of nearly 15 million—reached rock bottom.

Gen. Nimeiry, who came to power in a coup d'etat on May 25, 1969, has moved resolutely against foreign domination of trade and banking. But in the process the country has lost much of its meagre managerial class, capital investment and the confidence of business and banking circles. "We have gone through three months of havoc," Mr. Muhammad Ali el-Mahassi, Commissioner of the Bank of Sudan, said, alluding to the period after last June's widespread acts of nationalization and confiscation. Confidence was shaken both within and without the country; there was a run on the nationalized banks; foreign companies insisted that the Sudanese pay for all imports in cash.

Now a commission is making a detailed study of the takeovers to determine what will remain under state control and what will be returned to the private sector. Mr. Mahassi emphasized that there would be no limits on private participation in industry and that agriculture—with the exception of cotton—would remain in the private sector. The Council of Ministers is working on a law to establish six corporations to supervise industry, trading, transport, tourism, banking and agricultural production. A new investment Act is also being prepared to attract foreign capital and this law will define the terms of nationalization and provide guarantees to private investors.

The official reason for nationalization of the banks—one of which was Barclay's D.C.O., and all of which were foreign bar the Sudan Commercial—and of some foreign business was that they transferred all their profits abroad and concentrated on trade rather than taking risks in developing industry or agriculture. Many businessmen, untouched by the nationalization and confiscation rulings, are trying to leave the country simply because of the difficulty of working under present conditions.

(Times, London)

(See also p. 3089)

### 'Genocide' In South Alleged

Two representatives of a black Sudanese movement have claimed that the Arab-led Government of Sudan is using Egyptian and Libyan troops and Russian aircraft in the 16-year-old conflict between the Christian and pagan blacks of the south and the Muslims of the north. In what they described as an overt appeal to world public opinion, the two men described the policies carried out by the national Government in Khartoum "as genocide against the 4,000,000 blacks of southern Sudan".

"We call upon the nations of the free world to express their indignation at what is happening and to bring pressure to bear on the nations that supply armaments to Khartoum", Mr. Laurence Wol Wol said in New York recently. He is a Sorbonne graduate who, as a member of the Southern Sudan Liberation Front, has presented a petition to the United Nations calling for the observer teams to investigate his charges of genocide.

The other spokesman, Mr. Frederick Maggotti, who identified himself as a colonel of Anyanya, the guerrilla army of the south, said that 25 Russian-built aircraft were being used to bombard the southern provinces and that Libyans and Egyptians were among the 25,000 troops fighting the rebels in the south. He said that in the past eight years some 250,000 black Sudanese had been shot and 250,000 had died of hunger. For its part, the Khartoum Government has accused outside forces of stirring up rebellion and secession. "They stirred up civil wars in the Congo and Nigeria and they are trying to play the same evil game in Sudan," Mr. al-Nimeiry, the Sudan Prime Minister, said in a recent interview in Khartoum.

CPYRGHT

# WITH APACHE ON THE LEFT BANK ARABS USE SOVIET ARMS TO MASSACRE NEGROES

CPYRGHT

While the whole world is in an uproar over Britain selling arms to South Africa which might be used against Africans, not a whimper of protest is heard about the Soviet arms that are not only being used to kill the Sudanese, but have been used against them for several years past.

## OPEN GENOCIDE

South African apartheid is a blot on civilisation which no decent man will uphold, but it is appalling that those who condemn White racism suddenly go blind, deaf and dumb when dealing with other versions of the same disease.

If it is criminal for South African Whites to turn guns on South African Blacks, it is equally abhorrent for the Arab minority in the Sudan to turn its guns on the African majority that inhabits the southern regions of that country.

The arms that Britain plans to provide South Africa in return for facilities at the Simonstown base are being given for purely strategic reasons that Britain considers essential to its security. The Third World, used to looking at everything with blinkers on, refuses to see the necessity for the Western nations to have a base in the Indian Ocean at all but does not mind in the least if Russian vessels virtually take over the area.

Mr Swaran Singh at Singapore, when faced point blank with evidence of Soviet naval base all round the Indian Ocean perimeter, flew in the face of facts by claiming there were no bases at all.

He went on to argue that there was a vast difference between "facilities" given to the Soviets and the communication base that Britain and America intend to establish in Diego Garcia.

When specifically confronted with the naval base of Socatra, recently given to the Soviets by the Republic of Yemen, Swaran Singh retorted that no such base existed — because the Soviets had denied it and South Yemen had replied to his queries in the negative!

Swaran Singh must be singularly naive to believe this at face value. No country is going to blazon such deals to the world.

As for the war in Sudan, which for the past few years has been coming close to outright genocide, this is not hypothetical butchery in some distant future, but something that is taking place right now, with non-aligned nations conveniently looking the other way because it suits their interests.

That the murder of Negroes in the Sudan has been ignored does not make it any the less dreadful. The details of this one-sided conflict have been recorded in all their gory detail on several occasions, but the same "liberals" whose tearduc's are so sorely affected by Vietnam don't seem to give a damn.

One particularly vivid pictorial account of this one-sided conflict was given over Norwegian television. An equally harrowing tale is told in "Sudan — An African Tragedy" by Per Yvind Heradstveit. The authors of these accounts bluntly called what was going on in the Sudan "murder of a nation," but the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, with customary diplomatic down-playing, put on its rose-tinted spectacles and announced that these accounts were exaggerated and that the situation in South Sudan was improving.

In order to clear up who was right and who was wrong, the reputed journal Aftenposten decided to check Heradstveit's findings and to quiz him in an interview.

The following are extracts from the article by Aftenposten's Audun Tjomsland:

The controversy over television reporter Per Yvind Heradstveit's claims about the war in the Sudan will undoubtedly flare up again when his book about the Sudan is published in the near future.

Here he repeats claims denied by the Norwegian Ministry

Foreign Affairs and, among other things, uses the phrase "murder of a nation". Regardless of who comes closest to the truth, Heradstveit has done a great deal to bring this "forgotten war" into the light.

Heradstveit made a trip last summer that lasted for about a month, travelling both in North and South Sudan.

## INESCAPABLE REALITY

In his TV programmes Heradstveit drew a number of far-reaching conclusions. Among other things he used the expression "murder of a nation" to describe the Arab rulers' actions against the Negro population in the South.

When this conclusion was rejected by Foreign Minister Syenn Stray, the TV reporter said: "I do not want this to be a conflict over words. The essential factor is that we must open our eyes to what is happening in the Sudan, whatever we choose to call it."

Genocide is usually defined as the killing of members of a group of people with the aim of completely or partially annihilating national, ethnic, racial or religious groups — and this is the word ("folkemord" in Norwegian) that Heradstveit used.

Heradstveit in his book has put aside his professional mask of neutrality and objectivity. And he does not try to conceal this fact. After having been led to the remains of a church in the country town of Banja, where 28 people were murdered, Heradstveit wrote:

"I heard about Arab massacres in the Sudan. I had taken these reports with a grain of salt. Now I saw it for myself."

It has later been confirmed by other sources that the massacre in Banja took place under conditions of extreme brutality. A Norwegian TV team at the actual site.

The world found out about it because two reporters accidentally arrived on the scene just afterwards. No one knows how many similar events have taken place, Heradstveit says.

Since Heradstveit and Stabryn (his TV colleague) entered previously closed areas in South Sudan, in June 1970, new reports on the Arabs' oppression of the Negroid population in the South have been made.

Among others, Bishop Lino Tiboi, in a letter to the two television reporters from Aba in the Congo, has written that Arab soldiers attacked a village and killed at least five people, while the rest of the inhabitants fled into the forests.

In the London Times there is a report of another occasion when six people were killed.

## NORWEGIAN FEELING

What does the Norwegian Government feel?

"We do not deny that the situation is serious, we do not doubt that there are acts of oppression by both sides, and we do not, of course, doubt the TV team's pictures at all," says Department Head Tim Greve, of the Foreign Ministry, to Aftenposten. "But we have made our investigations during the course of a year prior to Heradstveit's and Stabryn's coming to the Sudan, and we believe we are able to prove our statements that the conclusions are exaggerated."

However, he cannot reveal what sources the Foreign Ministry bases its claims on.

On the opposite side, Heradstveit claims: "I cannot say anything besides the fact that we have been in South Sudan, have seen the charred remains of bones and smelled the corpses, and have been with people who have been subjected to Arab violence. And we are willing to back down an inch."

He also adds that the information he was given in Khartoum agreed completely with what his critics said but which, according to him, does not present the true picture at all.

Heradstveit quotes a captain named "Michael" from the Anya-Nya (the South Sudan rebel movement) on the situation. "They (the Arabs) do not want us Negroes in the Sudan", Michael says. "They want to wipe us out. They want the land, the fields, the pastures. They want to control the Nile. They do not want us in a united Sudan. They will wipe us out."

"At this moment hundreds of people are dying of undernourishment in the bush. They have never seen a doctor, they have never had enough to eat. If this is not murder of a people, I cannot understand what you can call it."

Heradstveit comments: "But the world keeps quiet and accepts what is happening."

As a summary of the factors behind the conflict, Heradstveit writes the following in his book:

"Racial conflicts there have always been between the Arabs in the North and the Negroes in the South. As an overshadowing, dominant fact is the Arabs' feeling that the people in the South are like helpless children at another phase of historical development, and that they are not 'mature' enough to rule themselves or to have any influence on the central government."

#### EQUALLY RACIST

"In many ways we recognise the pattern from the thought-processes among the Whites in Rhodesia and South Africa. It is tragic that the African people in many ways are not 'better' than the worst of the White racists. And the most tragic fact of all, perhaps, is that the Arabs themselves are not conscious of this condition."

According to Heradstveit this is the starting point for a war that has been discussed very little and which has been described as "the forgotten war."

The new regime which came into power during the summer of 1969 has recognised the relationship with the population in the South as Sudan's greatest problem and has formally given the southern provinces regional self-government.

The new President, Gaafar Nimeiri, has declared that the following four measures will be put into effect:

The law of amnesty would be expanded. Southern Sudan would be developed socially and culturally, with emphasis on economic progress. A Minister for Southern affairs would be appointed. Education of the Southern Sudanese for various sectors within the administration would be started.

Heradstveit says in his book that Nimeiri's Government has shown a willingness to improve the situation. But he concludes by saying that not much has been done. The people are no longer satisfied with words. They want to see action, and there has been no action.

Norwegian television's findings are fully corroborated by Oslo's leading daily *Morgenbladet*. On December 3, it carried an article by Gunnar Moe, not only indicating genocide against South Sudanese, but charging the Russians with providing the weapons that the Arab Government in Khartoum was using against the Negro population of the South. The following is taken from Moe's report in *Morgenbladet*:

The civil war in South Sudan is entering a new and more serious phase. The Khartoum Government has begun an intensive offensive with bombers, helicopters, napalm and motorised infantry to crush "once and for all" the rebel organisation Anya-Nya.

This great offensive, which is directed by Soviet "advisers", was begun in the middle of September last year according to several sources.

Russian bombers in great sweeps systematically bomb the jungle where rebels are hiding. They use both napalm and ordinary bombs. After that, Arabs come with tanks, infantry, parachute troops and helicopters. The jungle is "thoroughly combed". Behind all this, the Russian military advisers then follow.

Aircraft used are Russian MiG-21 and Antonov bombers, as well as Mi-8 helicopters. The *Daily Telegraph* reported on 17 October, 1970 that an additional 27 Russian bombers had arrived at Khartoum airport for delivery to the Sudanese Air Force. For two and a half months, the offensive went on, while the world is little informed about the blood bath.

Khartoum no longer attempts to conceal that a battle is being waged in the south. On 9 November, 1970, Defence Minister General Khaled Hassan Abbas held a press conference in which he said that the Government forces had

captured four rebel bases and two landing strips for aircraft, which the rebels used to move in arms, medicine and food. Large quantities of military equipment, anti-aircraft guns, mines, mortar and automatic rifles were also seized, said Abbas.

Reports about this were carried in, among others, the French newspaper *Le Monde*. The British *Evening Standard* also reported that "about 60 Soviet-equipped and to a great extent also Soviet-manned MiG-21 jet aircraft now are stationed at the town of Juba", the capital of the southern province, Equatoria.

The Sudanese Minister for South Sudan, Joseph Garang, recently confirmed that a constant escalation of the war is taking place in the three southern provinces and recommended that greater military pressure must be exerted from Khartoum.

The active presence of the Soviets in Sudan is not accidental. The Russians hope to secure for themselves a solid military and political foothold in the country. In the same way as they supported the central government in Nigeria during the conflict with Biafra, they now have no scruples about helping Prime Minister Nimeiri in Sudan to crush the Negro rebels in the south.

The problem is only to get "the job done" as discreetly as possible. The publicity which now begins to follow in the tracks of the civil war, does not particularly please Khartoum.

As is known, the matter was taken up in the last debate on foreign affairs in the Norwegian Parliament, but Foreign Minister Stray answered that it "would not be correct to deliberately portray the situation as being worse than it is according to the factual information which is obtained from a number of sources."

We ask again: What are the sources of the Foreign Ministry? Where have they been in order to obtain "factual information"? It is important to know this now — since a long line of internationally recognised press organs, journalists and news bureaus claim the exact opposite of that which the Norwegian Foreign Ministry sources maintain.

From this article one can see that the Soviets while they keep prodding their client states to raise a howl against the supposed militarism of the West, and who keep South African racialism to the forefront, quietly pursue geno-

cidal policies themselves.

This should not be in the least surprising. In Stalin's day whole nations were removed from their ancestral land and sent to perish in exile.

Small races like the Chichen-Ingush were totally wiped out. Larger ethnic groups like the Crimean Tatars were banished but, not allowed back even after they had been rehabilitated on the charges against them being proved to be totally false.

There is something intensely odious about nations with blood on their hands trying to preach peace to the world — and that is exactly what Russia is doing.

Kampala, Uganda  
30 January 1971

#### SUDANESE TROOPS ON UGANDA BORDER

Kampala, Uganda, Jan 30, REUTER--The new military regime in Uganda announced tonight that Sudanese troops were reported to be advancing into the country.

A statement by Gen. Idi Amin, head of the new military government, said that on Jan. 28, three days after the military coup which toppled President Milton Obote, Sudanese planes bombed a village in Uganda's northern Acholi District.

"Sudanese troops are now reported advancing into Uganda," the statement said.

"The Uganda Government hereby informs the Sudanese Government that it is able and ready to defend every inch of Uganda soil from any external aggression," Amin said.

The statement came after a day of conflicting reports about the situation in northern Uganda where troops loyal to Obote are believed to have taken to the bush and to be resisting Amin's soldiers.

The general's statement, addressed to "Uganda citizens at the Uganda-Sudan border" listed a number of alleged border incidents since last Dec. 22.

"Unless violation against Uganda territorial integrity stops at once it will be met by force, and this may not necessarily be a localized affair," it said.

On Jan. 26 and 28, Sudanese troops were reported to have advanced into Uganda and raided the village of Namur in Acholi District, the statement declared.

The statement then recalled a series of alleged border incidents dating from Dec. 22.

It said that on Jan. 28, three days after the military coup, Sudanese planes dropped five bombs on a village in Uganda's northern Acholi District.

"Sudanese troops are now reported advancing into Uganda," the statement added.

AGENCE FRANCE - PRESSE, Nairobi  
30 January 1971

--Sudanese troops entered Uganda last Tuesday and last Thursday, the Ugandan military government announced tonight.

Several villages were bombarded and a number of villagers carried off by the Sudanese troops, the announcement said.

A government spokesman warned that unless the violation stops, force will be met by force.

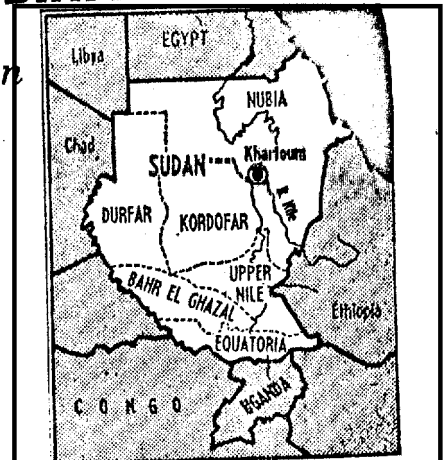
CPYRGHT

# THE MAKINGS OF A SECOND BIAFRA

*Race and religion split the Sudan*

From THE SUNDAY TIMES, London

More and more reports from the Sudan have told of rising rebel resistance from the black tribes of the South to rule by the Arab North. Even a coup by the leftist military junta of Gafaar al Nimeiry has failed to settle the vexing question of autonomy. The Times of London has a worried report from Anthony Nutting, after a trip to the Sudan saying that racial and religious overtones and the combination of hysteria on the rebels' side and confusion in Khartoum threaten a new Biafra. Joining the fray are an observer who takes the rebels' part in a letter to The Times and a mercenary whose last main engagement before the Sudan was in Biafra. He is interviewed in Hamburg's Die Welt.



IN THE HEART of Central Africa an almost forgotten war is being waged which has all the makings of a second Biafra. For most of the last 14 years, since the Sudan gained its independence from British rule, the three southern provinces have been conducting a running battle for secession against successive governments in Khartoum.

Periodically a lull in the fighting enables the local Sudanese administration to establish a few more "peace villages," where life can return to normal under the protection of the army or the police. But, as happened just before my visit in October, the rebels—or Anyanya, as they call themselves from the local word for the viper venom which is their emblem—soon resume their harassing tactics. Roads are mined, army convoys are ambushed and the peace villages become once again isolated clearings in a hostile jungle.

I did not gain much cheer from talking to the Anyanya leaders in Uganda, whose attitude showed a militancy which would have done justice to Biafra's Colonel Ojukwu in his most perverse moments. While protesting that, if the Sudanese government genuinely wanted a settlement, they should offer to sit round a table and negotiate with the rebels, they made it clear equally that the only basis on

which the Anyanya would negotiate was absolute independence for the South, which no one in Khartoum could accept.

They refused even to consider the present government's proposals which would give the South regional autonomy within a united Sudan and insisted that, as Africans, they wanted no truck with an Arab regime which wanted to Arabize and Islamize them as all previous Khartoum regimes had done.

Today no less than in the past, North and South are divided by a "grass curtain" with the difference between the sides as stark as the contrast of the rich red soil and tropical abundance of Equatoria with the arid desert wastes of Nubia, Kardofan and Darfur.

I am convinced from my talks with Nimeiry and his ministers in Khartoum that they genuinely believe their policy of regional autonomy is the best way to bring peace to the South and keep it within a united Sudan. Certainly it is a considerable advance on anything offered by their predecessors.

But in an area without as yet a common language among the major tribes, without modern roads or railways and where the tribesmen are at roughly the same stage of civilization as Britain before the Roman conquest, it is hard to see how regional au-

tonomy can be much more than a paper project for many years to come. And the danger is that, if the Anyanya keep up their harassments for another two to three years, the Nimeiry government will be forced to maintain martial law and will be unable to show any progress with its "southernization" programs. Disillusionment in the South could then spread like wildfire and another Biafra become inevitable.

As I learned from the display of captured rebel arms at army headquarters in Juba and from information given by Anyanya deserters and prisoners, Israeli officers, helped by West German "mercenaries," veterans of Biafra, are training and supplying the rebels with equipment ranging from American medical kits to Russian and Chinese weapons captured from the Egyptians and Palestinians.

But if, over the South, the Nimeiry government has been the victim of the mistakes and machinations of others since it seized power in 1969, it is not making the problem any easier to solve by pursuing an economic policy which involves nationalizing and confiscating foreign and Sudanese private enterprise with a socialist insouciance that takes too little account of the country's real economic needs.

No doubt previous governments had allowed some cobwebs of cor-

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ruption to spread through Sudanese business and commerce. But Nimeiry's new broom has not only swept away the cobwebs, it has also removed much of the essential furniture.

The Sudanese pound's value on the free market has fallen to a half of the official exchange rate. With the cotton crop mortgaged to Russia for the next three years, trade is being steadily diverted towards the Soviet bloc, and the Sudan's balance of trade with Britain and the West plunges ever deeper into the red.

Not that Nimeiry and his Revolutionary Command Council are unaware of the risks they are running. The disinclination they showed to discuss economic problems when I called on them seemed to suggest that they

placent. Nimeiry struck me as a sincere and dedicated patriot.

His minister of planning told me that the government intended to introduce measures to promote security for foreign investment. But if Nimeiry decides to slow down the nationalization program, as the recent sacking of three hard-line Leftist ministers suggests he may, he will still have to reckon with a strong reaction from the Communists.

No doubt it was in an effort to find a way out of this labyrinthine confusion that the Sudan agreed so readily to join the recently established tripartite union with Egypt and Libya. Despite the differences which divide the Sudanese and Egyptian peoples, President Nasser's death was probably felt more

other Arab capital outside Cairo. Over the last year of Nasser's life, the Sudan enjoyed something of a special relationship with Egypt.

At such a crucial moment, a marriage with the oil wealth of Libya and the relatively superior technical and political know-how of Egypt can hardly come amiss and, so long as it lasts, may provide a much needed blood transfusion for the Sudan.

ATLAS  
February 1971

## IS NIMEIRY THE VILLAIN?

CPYRGHT

Anthony Nutting's article on the Sudan contained several errors of fact. Firstly, the Southern Sudan rebels, known as the Anyanya, are not "separatists." They are fighting to create conditions whereby the civilian population can have a chance of democratic self-determination. Many of the freedom fighters would welcome the chance to achieve real (not mythical) autonomy for the South.

Secondly, the Anyanya have frequently offered to meet the Khartoum government at a peace conference to be held outside the Sudan. Nimeiry has refused. It is, therefore, inaccurate to draw a close parallel with Biafra.

Nutting's impression that the Khartoum government is making an all-out effort to achieve peace and progress is belied by the actions of their own army, the bombing of civilian villages, the burning of crops and the massacre of Christians at worship (all of which are amply documented). These acts of barbarity are rapidly alienating even further a large proportion of the Southern population and destroying hopes of eventual peace.

Surely the solution (if Khartoum is genuine in its peaceful intentions) is to withdraw the army from the garrisons in the South, to cease to train or employ Egyptians and Libyans and to get down to the conference table with Southern leaders. Failing this, the only recourse left open to Southerners is to strengthen their forces until their case is heard.

Letter from B.H.D. McDermot, chairman of the Southern Sudan Association  
in THE SUNDAY TIMES, London



## The Three-Cornered Conflict in Northeastern Africa

*Text and photo by David Robison*

While a tenuous ceasefire survives in the Middle East, the same kind of deep-seated conflicts are slowly growing to the south in the Upper Nile states of Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. In southern Sudan, the eight-year guerrilla war pitting the African population against the Arab-dominated Sudanese government has drawn in outsiders during the past year. Not surprisingly, they are the same powers that contend in the Middle East: Egypt, Russia and Israel, with the United States involved but trying not to be committed.

Because the Upper Nile Basin is next door to the Middle East geographically and politically, and is very unstable, it was perhaps inevitable that Middle East alignments would spread to this region as well.

Since independence, the African states have tried to hold down or ignore the conflict between the Moslems inhabiting North Africa and the northern rim of Black Africa and the Christians and pagans who populate the rest of Black Africa. Historically, Islam moved southward across the Indian Ocean and the Sahara Desert, and now dominates the Somali Republic, Niger, Mauritania, Senegal and Gambia. In its southernmost areas, Islam cuts halfway through the present states of Ethiopia, Sudan, Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria, Dahomey, Guinea and Sierra Leone, producing a roughly horizontal cultural dividing line across Black Africa.

Political tensions have grown along this cultural division, tending to fragment these states. The scramble for jobs, education and power has often turned one region or tribe against another, typically on a Moslem versus non-Moslem basis. All four of Africa's post-independence wars of secession have been generated along this line: the Nigeria-Biafra war, the Moslem rebellion in northern Chad, the separatist war in southern Sudan, and the Eritrean insurrection in Ethiopia. Christians have fought or are fighting for separation in Biafra and southern Sudan, and Moslems in Chad and Ethiopia. Four wars, roughly at the same time, attest to the general tensions and point to future possibilities.

Nowhere has the conflict been more virulent and deep-rooted than in Sudan. There the Arab versus African, or essentially Islamic versus non-Islamic conflict is more cultural, political and social than racial. Northern Sudan's ten million people are mostly Moslems, but a majority are dark-skinned through intermarriage of conquering Arabs with black-skinned women of northern tribes. Southern

Sudan's three or four millions are all black and all Christianized or pagan. The struggle in Sudan is a war to determine which culture, Arab or African, will be dominant, which people or class will hold the power and the jobs, and gain education, and for whose benefit the society will be structured.

The conflict has been building for over a century, dampened by British colonial rule and then flaring into guerrilla warfare in 1963, almost as soon as Britain tragically put the two cultures together into one crisis-ridden state, much as it had in Nigeria.

Until Sudan's independence in 1956, the north and south of Sudan were tied together only by the bitter legacy of the slave trade and the vagaries of British imperial policy. Southern Sudan was the hunting ground of Arab slave traders for 80 years—from 1820, when Egypt's Mohamed Ali sent his army south to conquer Sudan, gather slaves and sell them for revenue, until 1898, when Britain became managing partner in the Anglo-Egyptian condominium ruling Sudan. Britain banned northerners from the south for almost 50 years to placate the southerners' fear of the Arabs. The south was thought to be an economic liability by the British Treasury, so Catholic and Protestant missionaries were allowed to do the hard work of education and development. Nowhere in Africa did Britain carry out less development than in southern Sudan. But through the missionaries' work, Christianity, English and the Black African heritage were made the south's cultural underpinnings.

After World War II Britain gradually switched policy, mainly to placate Egypt and maintain its position at the Suez Canal, according to former officials. Egypt held long-term designs on union with all of Sudan, and was backing northern Sudan's demands for unfettered access to the south.

The south's army, the Equatoria Corps, mutinied as independence neared and Britain withdrew in 1955. But without political direction, the revolt failed, and the south subsided into sullen subordination to Khartoum. Its politicians made demands for federation which went unheeded. Soon after independence, the Sudanese army, police and civil service in the south were completely controlled by northern Moslems. In 1963-64 the Sudan government, which then as now was northern-dominated, expelled all 612 foreign Christian missionaries from the south. The south's secondary and intermediate schools were closed and moved to the north; to this day there are nearly no secondary schools and only



three intermediate schools open in the south. Thereupon, the remnants of the destroyed Equatoria Corps founded a southern guerrilla army. It was called the Anyanya—the name of a cobra poison, symbolizing power and danger—and dedicated to gaining by force a separate state for southern Sudan.

The Anyanya have no military victories to show for eight years of fighting. But they have forced the north to spend inordinately on counter-guerrilla garrisoning of the south. The struggle has sharpened the south's separatism, and its distrust and hatred of the north.

The vast bulk of the south's three to four million Africans never go near the few southern towns or army outposts that constitute the Khartoum government's centers of authority. Failing to gain recognized separation by force, the southerners have achieved separation by withdrawing into isolation in an area of bush and savanna larger than the eastern and southern United States.

With over 95% of the southern population shunning the towns and government control, the south's trade, development and education have virtually ceased. Western medicine is unavailable to anyone in the bush, and disease and malnutrition are endemic. Child mortality is certainly the highest in all Africa, now that the siege of Biafra is over. Foreign observers estimate that barely one in four children reaches adulthood and that total deaths caused by the suffering and the blockage of medical help are well over half a million. This cruelty to civilians is probably more devastating than in the Vietnam conflict.

The drain of the war in southern Sudan, and a continuous struggle for power among northern Arabs, have led Sudan's militant, Arab Socialist government—a military junta that seized power in 1969, led by General Ghaafar Mohammed al-Numeiri—to call in Egyptian and Russian aid on a large scale.

Historically, Egypt has intervened in Sudan more than any other Middle Eastern power. It used a battalion of Sudanese troops in the 1948 and 1956 wars against Israel, and King Farouk named himself King of Sudan in 1951. Immediately after Colonel (now General) Numeiri's coup of May 25, 1969, Egypt moved in several battalions to support him.

has announced that Egypt attempts in the last year. Egypt now has several thousands of its troops stationed in Sudan, and an Egyptian army college is functioning at Khartoum. Most important, Egypt has 100 to 200 second-line Mig 19s and 21s sitting on runways near Khartoum, safely out of range of Israeli Phantoms and Skyhawks. Sudan, like Libya, is now used as Egypt's safe reserve area.

The Egyptian aircraft are sometimes employed against Numeiri's opponents. In March, Egyptian Migs and Ilyushin 28s bombed the Ansar Moslem sect's headquarters on Aba Island, a three-mile-long island in the Nile south of Khartoum. Ansar survivors who fled to Ethiopia reported that 3,000 people were killed on the island during five days of bombing; their leader, the Imam el-Mahdi, was killed as he fled toward the Ethiopian border. The Anyanya believe that Egyptian pilots have been flying the Migs which have bombed southern villages in the last year, and they fear that Sudan now has a supply of Egyptian gas bombs of the type used in Yemen.

Once the United States intervened too. For two months, in April and May 1965, the Anyanya received U.S. arms near the Congo border. An American Negro named Louis mysteriously joined the Anyanya and guided airdrops with his radio. When the caretaker Khalifa government in Khartoum was overthrown by a coup, American aid stopped and Louis left as suddenly as he had appeared.

Russia's intervention dates back to January 1968, when a hundred million dollar Sudan-Soviet agreement marked the first step in an open-end Russian military aid program. The Soviet Union has trained Sudanese pilots, equipped the Sudanese air force with Mig 17s, 19s and 21s, and provided heavy T-55 tanks for the Sudanese army. Once Numeiri took over, Russia moved into Sudan in a buildup that has proceeded at a faster pace than the Russian buildup in Egypt, though on a smaller scale. Western intelligence estimates place the number of Soviet military advisers in Sudan at 1,500 and still growing. It was practically zero a year ago. Russian advisers serve with most Sudanese army units and may be operating in the south, where an estimated 13,000 troops of the 35,000-man Sudan army are stationed.

The Soviet Union will soon use Sudanese territory for air and naval operations. Yugoslavia has been constructing a Sudanese naval academy at Port Sudan on the Red Sea. Now Russia has sent instructors and is turning it into a full-scale Soviet base. In addition, the harbor constructed by the Russians at Berbera in Somalia is nearing completion. Russia now has naval facilities at Aden and has also been constructing a port at Hodeida in Yemen, which is probably of little value since the Sanaa government has recently taken a conservative turn.

North and east of Khartoum, Russia has been constructing two and possibly three airbases, a fact which has been unpublicized but is known to Western diplomats. These bases will be capable of handling large Soviet transport aircraft and could provide the capability, for the first time, of rapid Soviet military intervention in an African crisis.

General Numeiri declared last year, after seizing power, that "Socialist Sudan" wanted to be a "new voice" in African countries. But the main policy of the Moslem-Socialist alliances ruling Sudan and Libya, with strong Egyptian and Russian backing, has been to arm Moslem-led rebellions in Chad and the Eritrean region of Ethiopia. Emperor Haile Selassie was shocked in May when the Libyan regime announced a \$ 7.2 million loan to the Eritrean Liberation Front. He flew in June to Moscow, Paris and Cairo to try to get Libya's friends to stop Arab intervention in Ethiopia.

Since the Aba Island bombing, Uganda and Ethiopia fear that Sudan might one day use Egyptian air power to bomb their border areas where the Anyanya are most active. Since 1968, the Sudanese army has fought in Ugandan villages at least six times in pursuit of the Anyanya or their supporters. Anyanya units stay within the southern Sudanese bush, but as individuals the Anyanya go freely to Uganda, Ethiopia, the Congo and the Central African Republic for rest and medical attention, as well as to buy black market arms, food and clothing.

The Sudanese army has crossed the Ethiopian border at least a dozen times in two years. Once a Sudanese unit was captured in Ethiopia by the Anyanya; last May, Sudanese troops attacked an Anyanya camp at Tato, in the Gambela district of Ethiopia, and then pursued the Anyanya followers of a pagan prophet named Tung Kwach ("Spotted Leopard"). In July Ethiopia allowed Sudan to make a helicopter search for Anyanya camps in the Gambela district. It was a charade; ordinary villages and Anyanya camps are indistinguishable from the air, and at any rate the Anyanya had had ample warning via the bush telegraph.

Ethiopia's major security preoccupation is "Arab encirclement," by which Ethiopians mean the proximity of Arab countries around their borders and across the Red Sea—Sudan, Somalia, French Somaliland, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Arab aid to the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) deepens Ethiopia's fears. It has turned quietly to Israel and the U.S. to equip its army. Israel trains the Ethiopian Commando Police for a counter-guerrilla role against the ELF. The close Ethiopian-Israeli relationship is enhanced by the Emperor's legendary assertion that he is the 205th descendant of the Queen of Sheba.

Israel also trains the Uganda army. It makes a neat partnership with Czechoslovakia in training Ugandan pilots to fly Fouga Magisters and Migs. New Ugandan airfields are almost all placed near the Sudanese border.

Israel and the U.S. train and equip the Congolese army, and support General Mobutu. When Algeria held Moise Tshombé in prison and offered to

extradite him to the Congo, Gen. Mobutu was sorely tempted to get his hands on Tshombé, his old rival whom he had already had sentenced to death in absentia. But Algeria's price was the elimination of Israeli military trainers from the Congo. Mobutu refused, a sure sign of Israel's strong position there.

Israel's foremost interest in Africa lies in Ethiopia which, as an Israeli diplomat said, "is our backdoor." And how about Israel's economic and political interests in the Congo, Kenya and Uganda? "More backdoor" was the reply. Israel has a powerful interest in seeing that Black African countries do not become allies of the Arab League. If that happened, the U.S. and other Western countries might define their interests more on the Arab side through the sheer weight of numbers. Israel does not foment conflict between Arabs and Black Africans, but it clearly backs the Africans. The U.S. too is heading uncertainly in that direction through its strong support of Ethiopia and the Congo. France is committed to back Chad against its Moslem rebels; the French Foreign Legion holds Chad together.

If the fighting in southern Sudan increases measurably, so will the Arab-African tensions along Sudan's borders. This is indeed the trend, as Israel has sent arms in the last years to the Anyanya guerrillas in southern Sudan. Israel's military aid to the Anyanya began partly from Numeiri's determination to be Israel's enemy. Israel appears to be saying to other Arab states that it is costly to raise the stakes. A second reason is that the Anyanya may be able in the future to tie down increasing numbers of Arab soldiers and money in a costly counter-guerrilla effort. If the Anyanya become stronger, the Black Africans may be impressed with Israel's capacity to strengthen them and would gain in security from having an Anyanya buffer between them and the Sudanese army. Not least, Israel feels it has the power to help the south and the moral reason for doing so because, in Israeli eyes, the southerners have clearly been oppressed by northern Arabs.

Israel consulted with the African states around Sudan before beginning aid to the Anyanya last year. While these states do not want to aid the Anyanya themselves, fearing retaliation from the Sudanese army, they are not opposed to Israeli arms flowing to the Anyanya so long as they do not come from their territory. Israel has complied with this wish by means of an ingenious operation.

Thus the three-cornered conflict in northeast Africa, featuring Arabs, Africans and Israelis, slowly grows, with Russia building up the Arabs and Israel and the U.S. backing the Africans.

HINDUSTAN TIMES  
8 February 1971

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Sudan

## A New Biafra in the Offing?

By Rahul Burman

THE Nasserite Sudanese leaders who have managed to survive the sixth coup attempt since their seizure of power 17 months ago, have accused the United States, Israel and West Germany of a plot to turn the south of their country into a new Biafra.

The three countries, of course, deny this. Of late, the secessionist movement has intensified. The flames are fanned by the new supplies of sophisticated military hardware to the rebel forces of the 'Anyi Nya' (the rebel named after the scorpion's poison) as much as by the action of the Khartoum regime which first declared a general amnesty on the southerners and then had many of those responding to it shot.

A traditional source of black slaves for the rich markets of Arabia, the south of Sudan has now become the largest single source of refugees after war-torn Portuguese Angola. Within a span of eight months more than 70,000 fugitives from the three vast southern provinces of Sudan have been resettled in Uganda, 52,000 in Burundi, 24,000 in the Congo and 14,000 in Tanzania. In addition, there are thought to be hundreds of thousands of unregistered refugees.

The war in the southern Sudanese provinces till recently tied down the bulk of the country's 30,000 strong, partially Soviet-equipped armed forces. The underdeveloped tropical region, with an area of 360,000 square miles, is largely populated by three to four million Christian and pagan blacks, who often fall prey to sweeping attacks of disease, famine and northern raiding parties. The rural areas, where more than 50 per cent of the native population lives, is well under the control of the secessionists while the urban areas are securely held by the government forces. However, with the gradual escalation of fighting the situation in these areas too is rapidly changing in favour of the rebels.

Until 1956, when it gained independence, the Sudan, the largest and culturally the most varied country in Africa, was ruled by an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Britain shared sovereignty over Sudan with Egypt. Now Sudan is ruled by a Revolutionary Council established by a group of young army officers after the May 1969 coup. Its closest allies are Libya and the U.A.R., with whom it forms

a new group in Arab Africa.

### Racial Conflict

Basically, Sudan comprises nearly 600 tribal groups. The 14 million people are all Islamic by faith and tradition save those in the south, Khartoum, the capital, for long derived its wealth from the Nile. But today, with an annual per capita income of £40 only, Sudan survives virtually on a single crop, cotton, and has limited foreign exchange resources. It is finding it hard to finance the war in the south.

The violence in the south is due to the same racial conflict which caused the civil wars in Chad, Ethiopia and Biafra. In Sudan it has been aggravated also by the grave inconsistencies in Britain's own policies prior to the country's independence.

To eradicate slave raiding as well as the economic and cultural exploitation of the black tribes by the northerners, the British cordoned off the southern region from the rest of the country, creating in effect a huge sanctuary shielding its inhabitants from development. Education was neglected and left completely in the hands of Christian missionaries.

After World War II, Britain, confronted with increasing nationalism and pressure from the north, abruptly lifted the protective ban on south Sudan and called independence talks at which the black minority was absent. The Arabs demanded a completely centralised type of administration and ultimately secured it. After independence, Sudanisation led to the appointment of Arabs, rather than Africans, in the civil services even in the south. The south also faced a tremendous flow of traders and soldiers from the north.

A mutiny finally broke out in Equatoria and Bahr-el-Ghazal by the southern army men in 1956. Though it was quelled, open resistance to the northerners continued and gradually developed into an organised guerilla—the 'Anyi Nya'.

Political leaders who demanded a federal constitution were either imprisoned or forced to seek asylum in foreign countries. Simultaneously all missionaries were expelled. Large-scale civilian violence grew.

It is now clear that without the co-operation of the 'Anyi Nya', there can be no effective administration in the rural areas of the south. General Tafeng, a 60-year-old former officer of the Equatoria Corps who led the 1955 mutiny, is the rebel leader. The guerilla force was organised in 1963. Today, it is equipped with modern automatic weapons and receives foreign military aid. Torit, Juba and Nimule are places where heavy fighting has been reported.

Significantly, it is the Nasserite Sudanese leaders who seek a federal-type set up under which the three southern provinces would get an autonomous status.

*Sudan*

CPYRGHT

## **South comes first**

FROM A CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN SUDAN

The Sudanese army has recently scored some successes in its apparently endless war against the southern separatist rebels, the Anyanya. These successes were due partly to a new supply of Russian weapons, in particular troop-carrying helicopters, and partly to the changed attitude of the former Ugandan government. One of the more publicised incidents was the handing over by the Ugandan authorities of Rolf Steiner, a German mercenary who had fought in the Congo and Biafra before he came to Sudan. He escaped into Uganda after his camp near the frontier was overrun two months ago; the Ugandans handed him back to the Sudanese.

These military operations are one part of a two-pronged attempt by the radical army officers and left-wing intellectuals who now run Sudan to find a solution to the southern problem. The other part is represented by the declaration of regional autonomy announced by President Numeiry after he seized power in May, 1969. This was not just a fine-sounding phrase; the government, particularly its marxist members, are looking for ways of implementing the liberal measures envisaged in the declaration.

The regime's concern with internal affairs far outstrips its interest in the still shadowy plans for inter-Arab unity. President Numeiry went to Cairo last month for the meeting of heads of state of the proposed Egyptian-Libyan-Sudanese-Syrian federation in order to show willing and to avoid giving the Libyans an excuse for saying the Sudanese were dragging their feet. But the Sudanese have made it perfectly plain that they, like the Egyptians, will not be party to any hasty, ill-prepared union which would only humiliate the Arabs by its inevitable failure.

The Libyans recently published in their army newspaper details of the discussions which led to the declaration of tripartite federation (Syria was a late, and not altogether welcome,

fourth); this provoked the Sudanese into publishing their version of the talks. The Sudanese report claims that the Libyans were proposing the immediate unification of the three countries' foreign ministries and political organisations (though Egypt, at present, is the only one of the three to have a political organisation) and the establishment of a fixed timetable for full constitutional unity. All this, the Sudanese argue, is impossible because of the wholly different circumstances of the three countries.

The ardent, puritanical Islamic Arab nationalists in Libya are impatient with Sudan's concern with its southern conflict and censorious of the continuing presence of marxists in the Sudanese government. But Sudan's leaders need the support of both right and left. Although the revolution of May 25, 1969, was carried out on a wave of popular enthusiasm for the idea that Sudan should shed its old ways and decisively join the "progressive" Arab camp, much of this enthusiasm has waned and the regime lacks a solid popular base.

So it is trying to win allies where it can. The recent release of 125 of the 160 men accused of being involved in the fighting at Aba Island last March (when the Imam Hadi al-Mahdi was killed) was aimed at disarming right-wing opposition. The Sudanese communist party is split but the weightier half, led by the attractive, if irrepressibly bourgeois, Abdul Khalik Mahjoub, is now opposed to the regime. Mr Mahjoub himself is in detention and two of his supporters were eased out of the government in November (the third minister dismissed at this time, Major Farouk Hamdallah, is not a communist). Marxists who remain in the government include the minister of labour, Muawiya Ibrahim, and the minister of industry and mining, Ahmed Sulaiman. Their presence does not satisfy Sudanese communists but they help to protect the regime from an all-out onslaught from the left.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT, Oslo  
17 February 1971

DISAGREEMENT EXPRESSED WITH GUERRILLA CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

The South Sudanese freedom front representative visiting in Finland is indignant that he has not been allowed to participate in the students' and African Freedom Movement Conference. The Conference's second organizer, the Union of Finnish Students (SYL), answers that the representative's organization is not an African organization recognized as fighting against colonialism or racism.

The South Sudanese freedom front representative Dominic A. Mohamed said Tuesday, 16 February, in a press conference held in Helsinki, "the conference's participating Arabs fear that the Sudan army's cruelty directed against the Southern negro population will be revealed if I am allowed to speak.

"South Sudan's 4-million-negro population has continually been subject to the political rule of the Northern Mohammedan Arabs' social, racial and religious persecution and even economic exploitation. Lately this has moved into systematic genocide. Since 1962 the army has killed nearly one million South Sudanese. The army receives military aid from other Arab countries, especially Egypt, and Libya, and uses Soviet MIGs, napalm, military experts and pilots."

Mohamed said that he had protested to the SYL that he had not been permitted to participate in the conference.

"Separatism"

SYL chairman Seppo Harkonen said, "our conference is a closed work conference. Six freedom movements are participating in it, and they are recognized by the OAU, and are fighting against colonialism and racism. Several of the movements also have special consultant status with the U.N.

"On the other hand the South Sudan freedom movement is a typical separatist movement, which acts in an already independent country. Its representative's participation would not be in keeping with the general nature of the conference, nor are similar movements represented in this conference.

The list of conference participants was drawn up beforehand. The South Sudan freedom front representative has studied in the U.S. and has just arrived from there. He could not be accorded observer status either because the conference is intended only for student unions and certain international organizations."....

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# Erimielisyyttä sissikonferenssin osanottajista

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Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintaman parhaillaan Suomessa vierailleva edustaja on närkästynyt siitä, että hänen ei ole sallittu osallistua Otaniemen Dipolissa käynnissä olevaan "Opiskeelijat ja Afrikan vapautusliike" konferenssiin.

Konferenssin toinen järjestäjä Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto vastaa tähän, että kyseisen henkilön järjestö ei ole Afrikan yhteinäisyysjärjestön tunnustama kolonialismia tai rasismia vastaan taisteleva järjestö, joille konferenssi on tarkoitettu.

"Sen sijaan Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintama on tyypillinen separatistinen liike, joka toimii jo itsenäistyneessä maassa. Sen edustajan osallistuminen ei olisi sopinut konferenssin yleiskuvaan, eivätkä muutkaan vastaavat liikkeet ole siinä edustettuina". Härkönen sanoi.

"Konferenssin osanottajalista oli laadittu etukäteen. Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintaman edustaja on opiskellut Yhdysvalloissa ja saapunut sieltä juuri tänne. Tarkkailijaksi häntä ei voinut ottaa sen vuoksi, että konferenssi on tarkoitettu vain ylioppilaskunnille ja erälle kansainvälisille järjestöille."

"Konferenssissa osanottajina olevat arabit pelkäävät, että Sudanin armeijan maan eteläosan neekeriväestöön kohdistamat julmuudet paljastuvat, jos minä pääsen sinne puhumaan", sanoi Etelä-Sudanin vapautusrintaman edustaja Dominic A. Mohamed tiistaina Helsingissä pitämällään lehdistövästapaamisella.

"Etelä-Sudanin nelimiljoonainen neekeriväestö on jatkuvasti maan pohjoisosan muhamettilaisten arabien poliittisen ylivoiman alaisena, yhteiskunnallisen, rodullisen ja uskonnollisen vainon sekä taloudellisen riiston kohteena", hän sanoi. "Viime aikoina tämä on muuttunut systemaattiseksi kansanmurhaksi. Vuoden 1962 jälkeen armeija on surmannut lähes miljoona etelä-sudanilaista. Armeija saa sotilaallista apua muilta arabimailta, erityisesti Egyptiltä ja Libyalta. Se käyttää neuvostoliittolaisia Migejä, napalmia, sotilasasiantuntijoita ja lentäjiä."

Mohamed kertoi esittäneensä Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitolle vastauksen siitä, että hänen ei sallittu osallistua konferenssiin.

## "Separatismi"

"Konferenssimme on suljettu työkonferenssi", sanoi puolestaan SYL:n puheenjohtaja Seppo Härkönen. "Siinä osallistuvat kuusi vapautusliikettä ovat kaikki Afrikan yhtenäisyysjärjestön OAU:n tunnustamia ja ne taistelevat kolonialismia ja rasismia vastaan. Useilla näillä liikkeillä on myös eriyinen neuvotteluasema YK:ssä."

## RUSSIANS REPORTEDLY FIGHT SUDAN BLACKS

CPYRGHT

NEW YORK (AP) — For the first time, Soviet advisers are fighting black Africans and helping the Arab government of Sudan bomb black villages, Time magazine reported Sunday.

In its March 1 issue, the magazine said about 100 Russians had participated since September in ground operations in three southern provinces. It said that, besides another 400 Soviet advisers, 50 East Germans are also advising Sudan's Interior Ministry in Khartoum.

The 6 million blacks in the south demand autonomy in a federation, claiming they will never receive real authority from the 3 million Arabs in the north, who seized 796 of the available 800 government posts when the country gained independence in 1956, the magazine said.

The southern insurgents are receiving arms and supplies from Israel and sanctuary from Ethiopia, Time said.

NEW YORK TIMES  
22 February 1971

## SOVIET SAID TO HELP SUDAN FIGHT BLACKS

CPYRGHT

Time magazine says that Soviet advisers are helping the Arab Government of Sudan fight black insurgents.

In its March 1 issue, which goes on sale today, said that about 100 Russians had participated since September in ground operations in three southern provinces. It said that 400 more Soviet advisers and 50 East Germans were also advising Sudan's Interior Ministry in Khartoum.

The magazine said that Russians had "almost certainly" flown helicopters into combat against the blacks, and might have joined Egyptian pilots on

bombing missions. The Russians are also training pilots to fly Soviet MIG jets, Time said.

The six million blacks in the south demand autonomy in a federation, asserting that they will never receive real authority from the three million Arabs in the north, who seized 796 of the 800 available government posts when the country gained independence in 1956, the magazine said. There are also three million black Africans in the north.

The southern insurgents are receiving arms and supplies from Israel and sanctuary from Ethiopia, Time said.

KHARTOUM....ADDIS ABABA....LONDON....PARIS....BONN....

> > Arab-Israeli conflict is boiling over into black Africa, taking the great powers, U.S. and Russia, along with it. The result is a strange free-for-all.

> > Sudan has become the cockpit for international intrigue involving at least three guerrilla wars. This country, larger than Alaska plus Texas, stretches up the Nile into black Africa, has borders with eight African countries.

In the Sudan it is hard to see just who is doing what to whom. Still...

Egypt is involved. The Egyptian Air Force keeps 200 of its second-line MIG fighters and fighter-bombers on airfields near Khartoum, Sudan's capital, well away from Israel. Several thousand Egyptian troops are stationed in Sudan. The present Government of Sudan is committed to eventual union with Egypt.

Russia is involved too. Soviet military aid to Sudan began in 1968. Now Russia provides MIG fighters for Sudan's Air Force, T-55 heavy tanks for Sudan's Army, naval equipment for Port Sudan on the Red Sea, Israel's back gate to the Indian Ocean. Also in Sudan: Hundreds of Soviet advisers--some say 1,500.

Life for Sudan's non-Arab neighbors has been difficult. Ethiopia, where Coptic Christians predominate, worries about arms flowing from Sudan to rebels in Eritrea, an Ethiopian Province. Black-ruled Chad also is fighting off Arab guerrillas who may get arms from Sudan as well as from Libya. But now...

> > Sudan's own civil war appears to be warming up again.

The Khartoum Government, dominated by the Moslem majority in Northern Sudan, has never been able to pacify the Southern area of the country. That part of Sudan is inhabited by some 4 million blacks, most of them Christians.

The Anya Nya, a military force of black guerrillas who want independence for the Southern Sudan, has kept war going for eight years. In this war to date at least 50,000, probably many more, have died. Most of those killed were blacks with ties to the peoples of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo.

> > Israel, says the Sudanese Government, is getting into Sudan's war. Through Israeli military missions in Ethiopia, Uganda and the Congo, say officials in Khartoum, Israel is supplying arms to Southern rebels.

Soviet-made antiaircraft guns lost by Egypt to Israel in the June War of 1967 now are used by rebels against Sudan's Soviet-supplied helicopters.

Ask Israelis, and you get official denials that their arms go to Sudan's rebels. You also get an unofficial reminder: "Sudan is at Israel's back door."



1 March 1971

CPYRGHT

## Africa: Rumbblings on a Fault Line

*Across the midsection of Africa, at roughly the point where the savanna meets the tropical forest, a kind of human fault line separates the Arab world from Black Africa. This zone of instability, from Chad to the Horn, is a battleground where Arab guerrillas are pitted against black governments, and African rebels against Arab regimes. In a sense, two of the stubbornest rebellions—the civil war in the southern Sudan and the Eritrean uprising in northern Ethiopia—are extensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the north. The situation in the Sudan has been further complicated by the Soviet Union's powerful thrust toward the Indian Ocean.*

### SUDAN

#### The Soviet Viet Nam

Like their neighbors in Egypt, the men who run the Sudan have found foreign Communists a good deal easier to get along with than the domestic variety. Two weeks ago, Major General Jaafar Numeiry, 41, the Sudan's leftist leader, vowed that he would "crush and destroy" the country's 6,000-member Communist Party. The local Communists, he said, were guilty of everything from sabotage to poking fun at the Sudanese armed forces.

Nonetheless, Numeiry's revolutionary regime is becoming more and more dependent on the military support of the Soviet Union, which has some 500 advisers in the Sudan. Farther down the Horn of Africa in Somalia (*see map*), there are an estimated 325 Russian advisers. Last year the Russians began to construct a naval base at Port Sudan on the Red Sea, an installation that will be useful, once the Suez Canal is reopened, in the further expansion of Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean. Now the Russians are installing SA-2 anti-aircraft missiles to defend the base.

Even more startling is the fact that about 100 of the Sudan's Soviet advisers are directly helping the Khartoum government to prosecute its civil war against 6,000,000 black southerners. (The north contains 6,000,000 Arabs and 3,000,000 blacks.) The southerners demand autonomy within a federation, arguing that under the existing system they will never be given any real authority by the Arabs of the north; at independence in 1956, for example, the northerners grabbed off 796 of the 800

available government posts. There is, moreover, a long history of hatred between the two regions: in the 19th century, Arab slave traders from Khartoum and Cairo carried off 2,000,000 blacks in chains from southern Sudan.

Drums Sounding. Since last September the Russians have engaged in ground operations in all three southern provinces. Last month they accompanied Sudanese army units in a raid on the main guerrilla camp, Owing-ki-bul (an Afoli war cry that means "Hear the drums sounding"), attacking the southerners by surprise while many were bathing in a river. The rebel *Anyanya* (who took their name from the poison of a cobra or scorpion) lost a dozen men and considerable equipment. A bombing raid against a rebel base at Morta near the Uganda border caused nearly 1,000 civilian casualties.

Russians have almost certainly flown helicopters into combat against southern rebels. They, as well as Egyptian pilots, may also have conducted bombing missions with AN-12 transports and two squadrons of TU-16 medium bombers. The Russians, in addition, are known to have carried out MIG training missions in the north, but whether they have flown MIGs into combat in the south is uncertain.

In any case, the Soviets have already set two unwelcome precedents for themselves: never before have they participated so actively in a Third World counterinsurgency effort, and never have they fought against Black Africans and hoped bomb their villages. The situation prompted an Oslo newspaper, *Morgenbladet*, to headline a Sudan story a bit hyperbolically: THE SOVIETS HAVE THEIR VIET NAM.

Soldier of Fortune. The southerners have received some modest foreign support of their own. In September 1969—about three months after Numeiry seized power in Khartoum and aligned the Sudan more closely with Egypt—the Israelis began parachuting arms and supplies from an unmarked DC-3 to Owing-ki-bul. The DC-3 apparently flies in from either southwestern Ethiopia or northern Uganda; Israel provides extensive aid to both countries. Because the Khartoum government has allowed Ethiopia's Eritrean rebels to cross the Sudan while returning to their own country from overseas, Emperor Haile Selassie has permitted the southern Sudanese to take refuge in Ethiopia from time to time.

Until recently, the southerners were also aided by one of Africa's more notorious soldiers of fortune, German-born Mercenary Rolf Steiner. A veteran of losing battles in Indochina, Algeria and Biafra, Steiner spent some 13 months trying to train the rebels to fight the ruling Arabs. "They fight very well against each other," he once said. "But against the Arabs they feel inferior."

Late last year Steiner was captured by Uganda police while spending a few days of unofficial rest and recuperation outside the war zone. After three months, in a Uganda jail, Steiner was secretly turned over to Sudanese authorities. He is now in prison in Khartoum, where his fate will be settled by still another group of foreign Communists. The case against him is being prepared by some of the 50 East Germans who advise the Sudanese Interior Ministry on security techniques.

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BALTIMORE SUN,  
19 February 1971

## U.S. Expected To Get Down To 3 Viet Divisions By July

By CHARLES W. CORDRY  
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, Feb. 17—American ground forces in South Vietnam or official communiques. It combat divisions at peak strength, are confidently expected to be down to the equivalent of 3 divisions by the end of June, with the largest concentrations in the still difficult northern sector of the country.

Continuing bullish appraisals of the Laotian operation, notably President Nixon's today, would seem to underscore civilian leaders' confidence that they will not only meet but exceed their unannounced long-range withdrawal goals.

### Goal of 284,000

The presently announced goal is to be down to 284,000 men in all services by May 1, which means that 49,000 must be pulled out by then.

A question now is the size of a further cut Mr. Nixon will order in April and how long it will cover. But regardless of the answer, informed quarters now expect that the troop level will be down to about 250,000 at the end of June—a cut of about 83,000 from the present level.

And when that time is reached, the American ground forces remaining will be described officially as having taken up a "security mission" and having turned over their combat responsibility to the South Vietnamese.

### "Fire Brigade" Role

The mission of the remaining three divisions will be defense of air bases, supply complexes and, apparently, some coastal cities. They also will have a "fire brigade" role for a time. Little has been said about this, but it calls for them aiding South Vietnamese units in dire distress, if it comes to that.

Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, American commander in Vietnam, is increasingly turning over "tactical areas of responsibility" to South Vietnamese forces in preparation for the U.S. "security" mission.

In the process, the equivalent of at least 1½ of the 4½ divisions now in Vietnam are expected to be withdrawn by about May 1.

These withdrawals, it is said, currently are expected to include two of the 1st Air Cavalry Division's three brigades, and the remaining two regiments of marines.

### Two-Thirds Will Leave

It has already been announced that two-thirds of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment—in the Saigon area—will be pulled out by May 1.

After this, the American contribution to the defense of Saigon and the provinces around it, called Military Region 3, will be the remaining third of the armored regiment and a brigade of infantry from the 25th Division. This brigade will probably be withdrawn by June 30.

American ground combat responsibilities in Military Region 4, the Mekong Delta, below Saigon, have long since ended.

In the provinces of Military Region 2, north of Saigon, the American ground force now consists of one airborne brigade, the 173d, which may take over the "security mission" of guarding the supply complex on the coast at Qui Nhon.

The pesky area is Military Region 1, the five northern provinces, and there the American forces will consist of the 101st Airborne Division, the 23d (Americal) Division and a mechanized brigade. The outcome in Laos may have much to do with when this force is cut back.

NEW YORK TIMES,  
29 January 1971

SAIGON, South Vietnam,

Jan. 28 (AP)—The United States command today

reported that all United States Air Force combat units are to be withdrawn from South Vietnam by the end of 1972, leaving only advisors and technicians, if the South Vietnamese Air Force is sufficiently strong by then.

Meanwhile, the sources said, the United States is conducting the heaviest bombing campaign of the war in Laos and Cambodia in an effort to force North Vietnam "to make accommodations" and to pave the way for the withdrawal.

The sources said up to 500 United States warplanes from the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps were making daily raids on North Vietnamese troops and supply routes in Laos and Cambodia.

Some attacks are in direct support of South Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian troops fighting the North Vietnamese and Vietcong, the sources said, but about 75 per cent of the raids are against enemy supply routes, depots and troops along the Ho Chi Minh trail through southern Laos.

The United States Air Force now has 30 squadrons in South Vietnam, with a total of more than 700 aircraft and 42,200 men. No squadrons are being withdrawn during the current-sixth-phase cutback of American troops that will reduce authorized United States strength to 284,000 men by May 1.

The South Vietnamese air force has 32 squadrons, 700 planes and helicopters and about 40,000 men. The present goal is 50 squadrons and 1,200 planes and helicopters.

In the war, little ground action was reported in South Vietnam, but three grenades ripped through a theater in Binh Dinh Province, killing 10 Vietnamese and wounding 19. The South Vietnamese command said the grenades were thrown by "Communist terrorists."

About 80 miles farther north, a bomb exploded in a market place, and 9 Vietnamese civilians were reported killed and 22 wounded.

The incidents occurred during the four-day cease-fire declared by the Viet Cong for the Lunar New Year. It runs from Jan. 29 to Feb. 1.

THE 1.1 million-man South Vietnamese army (called ARVN) is a far better trained and equipped force than even its friendliest appraisers might have guessed a year ago. Yet it could be rather severely hurt in the current Laotian invasion.

What seems most impressive is the evidence, pointed to by senior U.S. defense officials, that the ARVN now has a considerable superiority in firepower over the North Vietnamese-Viet Cong adversary.

Confronted by this potent weaponry, the Reds in recent months have either avoided engaging South Vietnamese forces altogether, or have fought brief, sharp, losing encounters and then broken off the battle.

This was the case at a key mountain pass on Cambodia's Route 4, and in several engagements northeast of Phnom Penh on the Chup plantation. All these cost Hanoi heavily in lives.

IN their own populous and vital delta region, the ARVN have conducted three successful sweeps, including one in a mountainous border area and another in the U Minh forest. South Vietnamese Rangers protect the Cambodian border sectors west and north of Saigon.

It was a sign of South Vietnam's present relative stability militarily that its crack airborne division could be lifted away from the Saigon perimeter and thrust into the Laotian adventure aimed at cutting the Ho Chi Minh trail.

About half of the ARVN's 1.1 million men are regular army, navy, air, marine and other forces. The remainder are so-called regional and popular forces (these latter are not to be confused with the so-called home defense units made up of men below and above draft age).

Pentagon sources say virtually all the 1.1 million today are fitted out with M-16 rifles and that the regulars and some regional ele-

ments also have a useful array of mortars, machine guns, grenade launchers, 195 and 155 millimeter howitzers, good tanks and armored personnel carriers.

In the air, the ARVN has T-28 jet trainers (more effective than any World War II fighter), A-1 fighters (propeller-driven but loaded with firepower), converted transports called "dragon ships," helicopters with door guns. This force is providing most if not all of the air cover for ARVN's present stands in Cambodia at Chup and Snuol.

THE South Vietnamese do not have our most advanced M-60 tank, nor our more sophisticated helicopter gunships. We are training some ARVN men for such craft, but none are yet deemed ready. Our more powerful and longer-reaching air weapons, the fighter-bombers and the B-52, are not likely ever to be put in South Vietnamese hands.

The gunships and the bombers, manned by us, are of course playing a major role in the Laotian thrust, as are South Vietnam-based U.S. 175-mm. guns with a range of some 20 miles.

With the ARVN plunging into unfamiliar territory thick with hills and forest cover, and hence ideal for hidden enemy fire points, our strong air and artillery backing were deemed necessary for balance or possible superiority.

As indicated, even with this aid the South Vietnamese are expected to encounter rough going in their ground strike at the trail. The North Vietnamese may or may not choose major confrontation, but the trail as a manpower and supply lifeline is so crucial the Reds seem bound to try to chew up some of the invaders.

The dangers are obvious. Our support for the ARVN is a clear gauge of confidence in this army's greatly enhanced capabilities. Probably only severe reverses in Laos would dim this judgment materially.

Overall, the judgment of senior U.S. officials stands: "a very competent military force" performing in a "highly professional manner."

## S. Koreans Weigh Viet Pullout

SEOUL, Jan. 11 (AP)—(Monday)—President Chung Hee Park said today his government "is studying the gradual withdrawal" of South Korea's 50,000 troops from South Vietnam.

A timetable for the pullout will be decided "through discussions with South Vietnam, the United States and other Vietnam war allies," Park told a news conference.

He said he believes South Korean troops can be withdrawn gradually since the "Vietnamization program" is being implemented successfully and the combat capability of the South Vietnamese forces is so quickly improving beyond all expectations.

Park's statement was the first hint given by a Korean government leader of possible withdrawal of Korean forces since Korean troops were sent to Vietnam in 1965.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
13 January 1971

# Withdrawal from combat role: continuation of pattern

By George W. Ashworth  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Withdrawal of Americans from combat responsibility in Vietnam will hardly be a magic moment in the war.

As steadily sinking casualty figures have shown, Americans already have been withdrawing from the major combat role for more than a year and a half. The departure of each United States unit has left a void for the Vietnamese — not other Americans — to fill.

Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird has tied the ending of U.S. ground-combat responsibility to the President's May 1 deadline for American strength in Vietnam to be at a level below 284,000.

According to present Pentagon planning, most U.S. units seem likely to be either out of Vietnam or in process of turning over their areas of combat operations to the Vietnamese by that time. By the end of the fiscal year, June 30, the process is expected to be virtually complete.

## Positions of danger

As of that moment, Americans still will be in positions of danger, and there will be continued weekly casualties, although hopefully at a still lower level. Even if direct combat with the enemy is lowered, Americans still will be lost in accidents of one sort and other, and as a result of mines, rocketing, and booby traps.

The steady decline in U.S. losses so far will mean that the concrete results in terms of losses, will be continuation of a pattern, not abrupt change.

According to present projections, yet to be finally worked out in consultations between the Pentagon hierarchy and the American military commands in Vietnam and the Pacific, there will be about three U.S. combat divisions remaining in Vietnam by mid-year.

[The White House has announced that the next troop-withdrawal plan will be made public in mid-April. It will cover the period after May 1, when the current cycle ends.

Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler has cautioned in San Clemente against speculation on the role U.S. troops will be playing in Vietnam following the current pullout. This was seen here as an indication that the White House wishes to keep its options open and that the President does not want to become tied down to too many specific promises about how troops will behave in what will undoubtedly be a touchy and difficult transitional period.]

## Timing viewed

There will be vast remaining American air and artillery support, plus much of what has become a huge logistical network.

Between now and May 1, it is considered likely that almost all U.S. ground combat units will be withdrawn from the second and third military regions, which include those parts of Vietnam between the sea and the borders running from the Saigon region all the way north to points beyond Dakto and Kontum. American involvement in northernmost areas will remain relatively heavy.

U.S. ground troops were withdrawn from the delta in 1969. Now, with the envisioned withdrawal of almost all American units from the central areas of the country, Americans will not be close to the fronts except in the most persistently difficult areas.

Within a matter of months, these departures of units in specific areas seem probable:

- In the third military region, which includes Saigon, the remaining brigade of the American 25th Division will be pulled out, along with the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment. In addition, it is likely that two brigades of the 1st Cavalry Division (airmobile), one of the two best-equipped divisions in Vietnam, will be going home to Ft. Hood, Texas. The 1st Cavalry will supplant the 1st Armored Division there, sources say.

These moves in the third region would leave only a single brigade of the 1st Air Cavalry remaining on the scene.

- Further north, in the second region, remaining elements of the 4th Infantry Division will be returning to the United States. This will leave only the 173rd Airborne Brigade, which is operating in Binh Dinh Province along the coast.

• The heaviest concentration of American strength will be in the First Region, which includes Danang and Hue. All of the Marines will be leaving, but Army units are staying around. The 101st Airborne Division (Airmobile), which has at its disposal about 440 helicopters, will be staying to back up the 1st Vietnamese Division, generally considered Saigon's best.

### Cutbacks expected

In addition, the heavily armed brigade of the 5th Mechanized Division now on the DMZ will probably remain, along with the American Division, now being called its formal name, the 23rd Division, partially because of the bad publicity it got from time to time while known as the Americal.

As withdrawals continue past May, the Americal and the brigade of the 5th Mechanized will be taken out, leaving eventually only the one brigade of the First Cavalry Division in the populated central region, the 183d in the second region, and the 101st Division in the north. Then, as time and the situation permit, other cutbacks will occur, probably starting with the 101st.

In practical terms, all of this means that after May 1st, there just will not be many American infantrymen around to get shot at, except in the northernmost areas.

The 173d Brigade has been devoting its time since spring of 1969 to the pacification of Binh Dinh Province. As other American strength in the region around diminishes, however, the brigade undoubtedly will assume broader responsibilities. As some other units with combat responsibilities are removed, it will perform protection missions, provide backing for the Vietnamese and be available as a fire brigade to help with problems.

### Greatest threat seen

Farther north, in Military Region I, lies the greatest military threat to Vietnamization. Headway has been very modest and erratic in many areas, particularly in the region that includes Quang Ngai and the village of Son My.

It is in this northern region that pacification remains in trouble in wide areas. There is a constant problem of infiltration, and the allies have never been able to bring it to a halt. The possibility of some broad combat effort springing forth in this area remains a deep concern.

Thus, the Americans will be staying on a while in Military Region I with the hope that any new enemy offensive can be frustrated in its early stages.

Due to budgetary considerations, if nothing else, the administration will keep on bringing Americans home. By mid-1972, the strength of American infantry forces should be down to around a division or so, possibly less. And there will be fewer flyers, artillerymen, and supply people as the Vietnamese take over more of those tasks.

Indeed, just as the ground combat role will be turned over this spring, the combat support and logistical roles should be nearly completed by the same time a year later, in 1972.

Thus, it can be anticipated that the American involvement will be moving steadily downward through 1972 to reach a level in the tens of thousands in 1973—as compared to hundreds of thousands now.

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WASHINGTON POST  
8 January 1971

## Pentagon Says 100,000 to Stay

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 (UPI)

— U.S. troops will cease to play a major combat role in Vietnam after May 1, but the Pentagon said today that more than 100,000 combat troops will remain there in a security role.

A Pentagon spokesman, Jerry W. Friedheim, mentioned the figure after Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird said in Bangkok today that by May 1 a major portion of our combat forces that have a combat responsibility or a combat assignment within the country will have been withdrawn.

Friedheim said that the present force level of 385,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam would be cut to about 285,000 as of May 1, and that more than 100,000 of these will be combat troops.

[The latter figure is consistent with the percentages mentioned by Laird at various times as 45-50 per cent and 40-60 per cent.]

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NEW YORK TIMES  
23 February 1971

## U.S. Troops in Vietnam Fewest Since Fall of '66

SAIGON, South Vietnam, Feb. 23 (UPI)—The number of United States fighting men in South Vietnam has declined to the lowest point since the fall of 1966, the United States command said today.

The command also announced the impending departure of Marine Fighter Attack Squadron 115, the last Marine Corps Phantom jet fighter-bomber squadron left in South Vietnam.

American fighting strength in the week ended Feb. 18 totaled 330,600 men, a drop of 2,300 from the previous week, the command said. The decrease included 200 sailors, 400 marines, 300 airmen and 1,400 soldiers.

The forces remaining in South Vietnam are 248,800 soldiers, 16,200 sailors, 24,200 marines, 41,300 airmen and 100 Coastguardsmen. In addition, the command said, there are 18,500 sailors and 500 Coastguardsmen aboard ships operating off the coast.

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March 1971

SOVIET MANIPULATION OF THE ANGELA DAVIS CASE

1. The trial of Angela Davis, arising out of the State of California's accusations that the black militant and avowed member of the CPUSA supplied the guns that were used in the August shoot-out at the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael during which four people were killed, including a judge, has achieved international significance. It appears to be developing into a rallying-point for a Soviet-manipulated international anti-U.S. campaign reminiscent of the orchestrated Communist propaganda efforts made on the behalf of the atomic spies, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. In this context it is very important that Angela Davis is an attractive, educated and gifted American black girl. It takes little imagination to see her as a symbol of racial and political suppression by the "capitalist" U.S. Government and society.

2. The Soviet government press agency TASS issued a long commentary on her case recently. She was described as a young Communist and "courageous fighter for freedom." TASS said the charges against her are groundless and that they come against a background of hounding and intimidation of those who press for social change. On 5 January 1971 TASS listed organs of the Soviet press (Sovetskays Rossiya; Selskaya Zhizn; Komsomolskays Pravda) chorusing the theme of political and racial repression, as opposed to legal proceedings on criminal charges.

3. The Daily World, official paper of the Communist Party, USA, proclaims that a "Free Angela Campaign sweeps Sovietland." As illustration it reports that workers of the Moscow Tire Factory, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet Teachers Union, students of Patrice Lumumba University, the Pioneers and Komsomols are all mounting a major campaign to free her. The paper's Moscow correspondent, Mike Davidow, adds, "In the Tadzhik and Turkomen republics, school children have written letters to President Nixon and Governor Reagan demanding her freedom." Communist parties and other organizations in Eastern Europe have also championed her cause.

4. On 25 December 1970 a telegram was sent to President Nixon by a group of 14 leading Soviet scientists, including Pytor L. Kapitsa, dean of the Soviet physicists, Vladimir A. Englegardt, a biochemist, Mikhail D. Millionshchikov, another prominent physicist, and Igor Y. Tamm, still another physicist and winner of a 1958 Nobel Prize, appealing to the President "to safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continu-



ing her scientific work." The U.S. Government responded two days later by proposing that the group attend the forthcoming trial as "observers." As of this writing, there is no Soviet reply to the invitation.

5. Dr. Kapitsa and several of the others have protested inside the Soviet Union against repression of (liberal-minded) scientists and intellectuals. Last autumn Kapitsa joined an unofficial committee of scientists and intellectuals devoted to examining new scientific and political ideas, a group which the authorities consider a forum for intellectual dissent. It is apparent that the U.S. Government considers the appeal to President Nixon to be an expression of genuine concern by a group which may not have all available facts; hence the invitation to come to the United States and observe the trial.

6. The Soviet government apparently thought so too. It also appears that the Soviet government may have realized that it might be losing control of its anti-U.S. campaign, and that if any Russians were to attend the trial they should be politically reliable. On 30 December the Novosti press agency announced that an appeal had been sent to the White House by a 10-man group of different composition, artists and intellectuals headed by Dmitri Shostakovich. All members of this group had been recipients of numerous Soviet awards and prizes. No reference was made in the Novosti announcement to Dr. Kapitsa's appeal. The tone of the second appeal was different: it was far more polemical with such assertions as the one charging that the Davis case "is only the latest link in the chain that starts from the lynching of Molly Maguire trade union leaders," a secret workers' group active in the Pennsylvania anthracite district about 1870. The announcement was reported in the U.S. press; but the letter mentioned in the release was never sent to the White House and therefore no response was made.

7. Worldwide orchestration of the Angela Davis case is well under way. Members of Communist front women's groups and Communist front trade unions have already delivered petitions on her behalf in France, India, Ceylon and in many other countries.

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March 1971

DATES WORTH NOTING

March 18	Paris	100th anniversary of Paris Commune, 18 March - 29 May 1871.
March 27	USSR	Anniversary of Khrushchev's succession to Soviet premiership in 1958, consolidating his one-man control of Party and State. (Removed by coup 14 October 1964)
March 30	Moscow	The 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which was supposed to meet in 1970.
April 3	USSR	18th anniversary of exposure of Stalin's trumped-up "Doctor Plot," which had anti-Semitic overtones: 3 April 1953, one month after Stalin's death, Pravda announced the release of nine doctors, six of them Jewish, who had been arrested for murdering Zhdanov and Shcherbakov. Pravda admitted their arrests were a "miscarriage of justice."
April 13	Japan	20th anniversary of Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact signed during World War II and broken by Soviet Union one week before the end of war, 8 August 1945, when Japan was on the verge of surrender. It was during the last week of war that the Soviets captured the Kurile Islands.
April 17	Yugoslavia	Approximate target date for completion and promulgation of constitutional amendments designed to reform federal-local governmental structure and to provide for an orderly (non-coup) method of transferring executive power. If Yugoslavia devises reasonable formulae for dealing with these

basic problems, it could add to debate in the Soviet Bloc on these issues: e.g., among the 1968 reforms in Czechoslovakia under Dubcek was an increase in local political responsibility, which is now being undone by the present regime; among the effects of the recent Polish workers' strikes was public acknowledgment by Gierek that Poland needs an orderly system of rotating leaders in and out of power.

April 17-19     Cuba

10th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs. April 19, a Cuban national holiday, could be the occasion for anti-American demonstrations in Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America.

April 21-26     Salzburg

Congress of European National Youth Committees. Representatives from Bloc youth groups and the Communist international youth fronts are expected to attend as observers. The Congress may discuss, inter alia, European Security and the possibility of the European National Youth Committees undertaking joint programs with Bloc youth groups.

April 22         Sofia

10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, billed by Party leader Todor Zhivkov as one of the most important events in the Party's history. The agenda includes a new constitution for Bulgaria and the new Party Program. Zhivkov has announced that the Party Program (the first to be presented to a BCP Congress) will provide for "completing the construction of a developed socialist society and for creating the material and spiritual prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism." However, the BCP's blueprint for the future of Bulgaria may be overshadowed at the 10th Congress by a rush to be first to conform to the line and style of the CPSU Congress which just precedes

the Bulgarian Congress. The BCP Congress was to be held last fall, but after the CPSU Congress was postponed to this spring the Bulgarians followed suit. (Czechoslovakia is to hold its Party Congress May 25, and East Germany on June 14.)

April 30

Cambodia

First anniversary of the entering of U.S. forces into Cambodia (the forces were withdrawn two months later, on 30 June.) Because of the Cambodian anniversary, plus May Day, the first week in May could be the occasion for anti-U.S. demonstrations. . (Some of the traditional Easter Week marches could take place in early May instead.)